DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 150 037 **SO 010 536**

AUTHOR	Golden, Carl, Comp.
TITLE	Organized Labor: Source Materials for the Study of Labor in America.
INSTITUTION	New York City Central Labor Council (AFL-CIO), N.Y.; United Federation of Teachers, New York, N.Y.
PUB DATE	76
NOTE	201p.
AVAILABLE FROM	United Federation of Teachers, Box OL, 260 Park Avenue South, New York, New York 10010 ($5.00 paperbound, $3.50 for 25 or more)
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Economics; Industrial Relations; Instructional Materials; *Labor Conditions; Labor Demands; Labor Economics; *Labor Legislation; *Labor Problems; *Labor Unions; Primary Sources; Secondary Education; Social Studies; Strikes; Unions; *United States History

ABSTRACT

Designed for use in secondary economics or other social studies classes, this kit presents instructional materials and replications of primary source documents on the development of the labor movement in America. The documents are divided into four major areas of study: the growth of organized labor, the function of a union, labor and politics, and labor and technology. The document begins with the historical development of the labor union which originated with the shoemakers of the 1840s and 1850s and concludes with a 1971 speech about rediscovering American labor. Documents in the kit represent various viewpoints ranging from organizers of unions to management. Following each document presentation are questions for inquiry and discussion. A teacher's guide containing background information about the documents precedes the documents section. The kit contains a glossary of commonly used terms. Six large posters depicting various aspects of organized labor are available in the hard copy version. (Author/JR)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

ED150037

ORGANIZED LABOR

Source Materials for the Study of Labor in America

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
United Federation of Teachers
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

Prepared for and in cooperation with
the Education Committee of the
New York City Central Labor Council
Albert Shanker, Chairman   Harry Van Arsdale, President

Compiled by Carl Golden
Edited by Susan Bonhomme
Design by Eugene Glaberman
Project Director Myrna Cooper

SO 010 536

Acknowledgments:

This book is the product of the collective wisdom of many people, who took time out of a busy schedule to read the manuscript and give me the benefit of their thoughtful criticism. I would like to thank especially Tom Brooks, Walter Davis, Education Director of the AFL-CIO, Jack Sessions, Saul Miller, Ben Albert, Nat Goldfinger of the AFL-CIO and Gus Tyler, Assistant to the President of ILGWU.

Above all, I owe a debt of gratitude to Sandra Feldman, Vice-President American Federation of Teachers, Assistant to the President United Federation of Teachers, without whose diligence, intelligence and tact this manuscript would have been unthinkable.

(c) Copyright United Federation of Teachers, 1976

Published by: The United Federation of Teachers

Local 2, American Federation of Teachers, AFL-CIO
Affiliated with the New York State AFL-CIO,
New York City Central Labor Council and the
New York State United Teachers

For additional copies of this publication write to:
United Federation of Teachers
Box OL
260 Park Avenue South
New York, New York 10010
PRICE: $5.00 each

The editor gratefully acknowledges permission to reproduce copyright material in this kit.

1199 Demonstration Against Nixon Wage Freeze photograph by Sam Reiss.

Undergarment Shop photograph by Adrian Manocchia, "Justice-ILGWU."

Virginia Glass Factory photograph by Lewis Hine, the Jacob A. Riis Collection, Museum of the City of New York.

Labor Day Parade photograph Museum of the City of New York.

The Homestead Plant photograph. Reprinted by Arno Press Inc. 1969.

Norman Ware, The Industrial Worker, Copyright (c) 1964 by Quadrangle Books, Inc. Reprinted by permission of Quadrangle/the New York Times Book Company.

Anthony Bima, The Molly Maguires. Reprinted by permission of International Publishers Co., Inc. Copyright (c) 1950.

Leon Litwack, The American Labor Movement, (c) 1962, p. 17. Reprinted by permission of Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey.

Joseph A. Dacus, Annals of the Great Strikes. Reprinted by Arno Press, Inc., 1969.

Margaret Byington, Homestead, the Household of a Mill Town, Reprinted by Arno Press, Inc., 1969.

Louis Levine, The Women's Garment Workers. Reprinted by Arno Press Inc., 1969.

Mathew Josephson, Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor. Reprinted by permission of Harold Ober Associates Inc., Copyright (c) 1952 by Mathew Josephson.

Mac Alister Coleman, Men and Coal. Copyright (c) 1971 by Ruth Fox Coleman. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Publishers.

ILGWU "Union Label" song by permission of Green Dolmatch Inc.

Walter P. Reuther, Report of the President by permission of the United Auto Workers.

Chart of Local 374, Progress Report of the U.S. Economy, by permission of the Battle Creek Board of Education.

A Union Authorization Card, A Constitution of a Fictitious Union, Sample Notice of an Election, A Fictitious Collective Bargaining Agreement. Reprinted from Robert E. Doherty, Labor Relations Primer: The Story of a Union Management Agreement (Ithaca: New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, 1965), Bulletin No. 54.

Henry L. Nunn, The Whole Man Goes to Work, courtesy of Harper and Row Publishers.

Basic Labor Legislation and Glossary from Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, The Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, 1965, by permission of The United Transportation Union.

Harry A. Mills editor, How Collective Bargaining Works at Philco. Reprinted by Arno Press, Inc., 1971.

The Surge of Public Employee Unionism, Annual Report to AFL Convention, December 1891, AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education, Labor Looks at Automation, New Goals for Collective Bargaining, The CIO Political Action Committee, the People's Program for 1944, by permission of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations.

Penn Kemble, "Rediscovering American Labor." Reprinted from Commentary by permission. (c) 1971 by the American Jewish Committee.

Howard Stieglitz, Studies in Personnel Policy, by permission of Conference Board, Inc.

Gus Tyler, The Labor Revolution. Copyright (c) 1967 by Gus Tyler. Reprinted by permission of Viking Penguin, Inc.

Cover photograph by permission of Brown Brothers.

Philip Taft, Organized Labor in American History, Harper and Row. Reprinted by permission of the author.

Preface

The growing interest and pride of American minority groups in their ethnic, racial and cultural heritages has stimulated a desire to learn about our most neglected and often misrepresented majority group—the American working class. The heritage of the American working class is essentially the history of the struggle for dignity. It is the heritage of working men and women from all minority groups, joining together in labor organizations to fight for those conditions prerequisite to dignity. Because organized labor carried its struggle beyond particular shops or plants to fight for decent conditions and dignity throughout society, the heritage of organized labor is a heritage for all Americans.

The commercial press has, on the whole, misrepresented organized labor. Usually portrayed as reactionary and jingoistic, its policies are misunderstood and its programs largely ignored. The lack of systematic curricula on the secondary school level has seriously handicapped teachers wishing to present an authentic study of organized labor.

New York City teachers, through their own organization, the United Federation of Teachers, have undertaken the publication of this resource kit. The author has selected documents which enable students to gain a deeper knowledge and a clearer understanding of labor's goals and achievements, the world of work, and the lives of the men and women, who, through their personal efforts and vision, have improved the lives of all Americans.

Assembled by outstanding educators and reviewed by labor experts, this kit is designed to be used by specialists as well as by teachers who may be new to the subject. The Teachers Booklet contains background information on the labor movement and teaching suggestions to facilitate using the documents.

The United Federation of Teachers is proud to present learning materials developed by teachers themselves. It is our hope that this resource kit will help all Americans appreciate the heritage of organized labor.

Albert Shanker

Introduction

This kit presents materials and documents on the development of the labor movement in America, an area sparsely covered by existing high school textbooks.

The documents are divided into four sections: The Growth of Organized Labor, The Function of a Union, Labor and Politics, and Labor and Technology. They are organized to help students draw their own conclusions and depend upon the students' active involvement in inquiry and discovery.

The Teachers Booklet preceding the collection of materials contains background information on the areas covered by the documents. After each document, there are suggested questions for discussion and suggested topics for independent study created to deepen student appreciation of the problems and practices of the American labor movement.

The documents can be used in two ways. First, specific parts fit into almost every current social studies syllabus. For example, the section on The Growth of Organized Labor can be used to supplement, if not replace, the usual historical discussion of the American labor movement which occurs in the typical American History course. Similarly, the sections on The Function of a Union can replace the materials now being used in the high school course on economics.

Secondly, the documents can be used as a complete syllabus for an elective course on American labor to be taught on the high school level. Instead of the typical narrative, the documents provide lively, provocative materials for a realistic study of the labor movement.

There is no prescribed sequence in which the documents should be used. Some teachers may feel more comfortable following a chronological sequence, and others may wish to use daily newspaper accounts of the labor movement as the point of departure. If a teacher chooses to begin with news items, selected documents could then be used to foster a better understanding of the problems and issues facing organized labor today.

Six posters depicting some of the many faces of organized labor are included. The poster of the mill town of Homestead is one of a series of documents on the Homestead strike. There are questions for discussions and topics for independent research which may be used with this poster. The other posters may be shown in conjunction with appropriate documents or independently.

A glossary of terms commonly used in speaking of labor is at the end of the documents. Teachers may wish to duplicate the entire glossary for the students before beginning. It would then be possible to either explain unfamiliar vocabulary from specific documents to the class as a whole, knowing that if an individual student comes across a word he or she doesn't understand, the glossary will provide a clear explanation.

Documents 7 to 10 are a case study of the Homestead Strike. The documents include material on the history and ethnic composition of the mill town, the family diets, the living conditions, and the long, great Homestead strike. Teachers may wish to use these documents as a complete unit in other curriculum areas—economics or immigration studies, for example.

If our goals are achieved, students will begin to understand the importance of the American working class in every facet of American life.

Contents

TEACHERS BOOKLET

Background Information

Section I The Growth of Organized Labor.............. 13

Section II The Structure of Organized Labor........... 26

Section III Organized Labor and Politics.............. 29

Section IV Organized Labor and Technological Change... 35

Bibliography.. 41

Additional Educational Materials...................... 46

DOCUMENTS

Section I The Growth of Organized Labor

1. Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: the Shoemakers.................................. 53

2. Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: the Needle Trades................................ 55

3. Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: Wages....................................... 58

4. Working Conditions in a Coal Mine................ 61

5. The Company Store: A Description by a Massachusetts Quarryman, 1879.................. 64

6. A Contemporary Account of the Origin of the Great Railroad Strike................................ 66

7. Poster of Homestead Circa 1900................... 69

8. Historical Description of Homestead.............. 70

9. Living Conditions of Homestead Workers in 1900: Table and Dinner Pail........................... 73

10. The Great Homestead Strike of 1892............... 76

11. Historical Account of the Birth of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union....... 80

12. How Famous Labor Leader Sidney Hillman Joined the Union.................................... 84

13. John L. Lewis Creates Industrial Unionism.. 88

14. A Labor Song of the 1930's........................ 93

15. A Labor Song of the 1970's........................ 94

Section II The Structure of Organized Labor

16. The Structure of the AFL-CIO..................... 96

17. The Member Unions of the AFL-CIO................. 97

18. United Auto Workers Staff Departments............ 99

19. Chart: The Basic Structure of Unionism........... 101

20. Charts of Union Membership....................... 103

21. Statistics on Growth of United States Economy.. 106

22. Chart Showing Percentage of Union Membership in Western Europe and the United States.......... 109

23. Tables Showing Percentage of Union Membership by Industry and Percentage of Union Membership by Occupation.................. 112

24. Geographical Distribution of Organized Labor.. 114

25. Profile of the Union Member...................... 116

26. Chart of the Structure of Local 374 AFL-CIO..... 118

27. A Union Authorization Card....................... 120

28. Why a Worker Joins a Union....................... 121

29. Satisfactions Members Get From Their Unions...... 122

30. A Constitution of a Fictitious Union............. 123

31. Sample Notice of an Election to Select a Collective Bargaining Agent...................... 129

32. A Fictitious Collective Bargaining Agreement.......... 132

33. Basic Labor Legislation: The National Labor Relations Act.......... 140

34. Basic Labor Legislation: The Taft-Hartley Act.......... 142

35. Basic Labor Legislation: The Landrum-Griffin Act.......... 144

36. UFT Meeting Calendar.......... 145

37. Collective Bargaining at Philco.......... 147

38. New Goals for Collective Bargaining.......... 152

39. The Surge of Public Employee Unionism.......... 155

Section III Organized Labor and Politics

40. Political Views of American Labor in the 19th Century: Speeches and Statements of Samuel Gompers.......... 157

41. The CIO Political Action Committee.......... 162

42. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education.......... 167

Section IV Organized Labor and Technological Change

43. A Union Sharing Plan: Kaiser Steel Union Collective Bargaining Agreement.......... 171

44. Push-Button Miner.......... 173

45. Organized Labor Moves in New Directions.......... 176

46. Organized Labor Today.......... 178

GLOSSARY.......... 189

POSTERS

1. Workers Organize--Labor Day Parade, Union Square 1887

2. Child Labor--Virginia Glass Factory--
   a Carring-in-boy Who Works All Night Every
   Other Week

3. Homestead--A Mill Town Circa 1900

4. Members of the International Ladies' Garment
   Workers Union in a Modern Shop

5. United Federation of Teachers Demonstrate for
   Better Schools

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Section I The Growth of Organized Labor Documents 1-15

The history of labor associations or unions in the United States begins with the founding of the Republic.

The first to organize were the skilled craftsmen: shoemakers, building tradesmen and printers. The first actual union was the Society of Philadelphia Shoemakers, founded in 1792. It was established, according to John R. Commons, because:

> It was the widening of these markets with their lower levels of competition and quality, but without changes in the instruments of production, that destroyed the primitive identity of master and journeyman cordwainers and split their community of interest into the modern alignment of employers' associations and trade unions....it was a struggle on the part of the merchant employer to require the same minimum quality of work for each of the markets, but lower rates of wages on work destined for the wider and lower markets. It was a struggle on the part of the journeyman to require the same minimum wage on work destined for each market, but with the option of a higher wage for a higher market. The conflict came over the wage and quality of work destined for the widest, lowest and the newest market.[1]

The organizations of printers and tailors were formed shortly thereafter. Almost as soon as these were formed, workers had to use their organizations for self-protection. By the early 1800s strikes were not uncommon, and these organizations were setting up "a price list and asking each employer for his agreement." The first recorded collective bargaining process grew out of the negotiations between the Philadelphia Journeyman Cordwainers and their employers in 1799.

Thus, the early workers' associations were made up of journeymen who organized to defend themselves and to improve their wages and working conditions. Bargaining, strikes, strike benefits, lockouts and closed shops were part of the vocabulary and action of these early attempts at employer-employee relationships.

The early associations of skilled craftsmen met determined opposition from groups of employers. The employers used conspiracy trials to prevent the workmen from fixing wages, or prices as they were called, for their work. The employers also sought to prevent the workers from fixing the rate at which they worked.

During the first half of the 19th century labor unions grew and developed among the skilled craftsmen in the cities along the east coast, especially in Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore and Newark. "By 1836 Philadelphia had fifty-three trade unions; Newark and Boston sixteen each; Baltimore, twenty-three; and New York fifty-two. It was then estimated that union membership in the seaboard cities amounted to 300,000."[2]

The growth of local labor unions led to the creation of Central Labor Councils whose purpose was to lend financial and moral support during strikes. By the 1850s the following organizations had formed national unions: The Typographical Union, Moulders' International Union, National Union of Machinists and Blacksmiths, Stone Cutters and the Hat Finishers. Labor leaders like W. H. Sylvis of the Iron Moulders and Jonathan Fincher of the Machinists were busy organizing the affairs of national unions.

Organized labor led numerous strikes for the ten-hour day, better working conditions, and higher wages. In the two-year period from 1853-4, it was estimated that there were about 400 separate strikes, twenty-five or thirty being on at one time in New York City. "Nearly every known craft from boilermaker to printers and coachmen were involved, and scarcely a city escaped. In addition to the usual disputes in New York, Boston, Baltimore, there were strikes in Cincinnati, New Orleans, St. Louis and San Francisco."[3]

At the end of the Civil War, labor, at the initiative of W. H. Sylvis, attempted to form one national union to push labor's demands in a period of unprecedented industrial expansion. In 1866, Sylvis was successful. The basis of the National Labor Union was not the national craft unions themselves, but rather the city assembly of trade unions. Sylvis saw the National Labor Union as a way of freeing labor from the "control of capitalists by establishing cooperation in which the workingmen supplied their own capital and shared the profits." Sylvis felt that unions by themselves did not get at the cause of labor's misery which was the wage system itself. Under Sylvis' lead, cooperatives were established by his own union, the iron moulders. Similar attempts were made by bakers, shipwrights, machinists, tailors, printers and others. The National Labor Union also sought alliances with farmers and Blacks. As the National Labor Union proclaimed:

> What is wanted is for every union to help inculcate the grand enabling idea that the interests of labor are one: that there should be no distinction of race or nationality; no classification of Jew or Gentile; Christian or infidel; that there is one dividing line, that which separates mankind into two great classes, the class that labors and the class that lives by others' labor.[4]

However, the National Labor Union quickly fell apart; its cooperative ventures failed, and the unions became dissatisfied with its political program. By 1872 the National Labor Union ceased to exist.

The collapse of the National Labor Union left the field in the hands of the Knights of Labor. Its first leader was Uriah S. Stephens, a New Jersey tailor and school teacher. Stephens himself believed in a secret cooperative organization of both skilled and unskilled labor.

> Cooperation was the fundamental principle upon which the organization was based. It was not a co-operation of men for the mere purpose of enhancing the value of their combined contribution to any productive enterprise alone, but a co-operation of the various callings and crafts by which men earned the right to remain upon the earth's surface as contributors to the

> public good. The barriers of trade were to be cast aside: the man who toiled, no matter what, was to receive and enjoy the just fruits of his labor, and exercise of his art whether as a skilled artisan or of the humblest toilers of the earth.[5]

From its beginning, the Knights of Labor advocated a moderate program. It opposed the exclusiveness of the craft unions and sought to recruit members from all classes, including the unskilled, women and racial minorities.

After it developed, Stephens stepped down, recommending Terence Vincent Powderly as his successor. Powderly, "a machinist by trade and a politician by instinct" restated the purpose of the Knights of Labor:

> We take all men who obey the divine injunction: "by the sweat of thy brow shall thou earn bread," the machinist, the blacksmith, moulder pattern-maker, laborer, miner and clerk. All who labor. No drones. No lawyers, no bankers, no doctors, no professional politicians. By combining all branches of trade in one common brotherhood, a complete system of communicating and receiving intelligence is at once established....we teach the laborer to discuss labor in all its interest at each meeting.[6]

Although membership in the Knights jumped dramatically after the successful strike in 1886, it fell precipitously after an unsuccessful strike a year later. The Knights failed because, like the National Labor Union, its policies were too vague. It never satisfied the national unions which represented the skilled workers. These organizations were more interested in "bread-and-butter" issues rather than social reforms. The national union wanted a loose federation with specific economic goals which would not infringe on their separate jurisdictions.

The American Federation of Labor replaced the Knights in 1886. At the time of its founding, the leaders of the AFL declared:

> The Knights of Labor have persistently attempted to undermine and disrupt the well established trade unions; organized and encouraged men who have proved themselves untrue to their trades, false to the obligations of their union, embezzlers of monies, and expelled by many unions and conspiring to pull down the trade unions.[7]

The chief architect of the AFL was P.J. McGuire, but it was Samuel Gompers who dominated the American Federation of Labor until his death in 1924. According to Gompers, the function of organized labor was:

> ...to recognize that first things must come first. The primary essential in our mission has been the protection of the wage-worker, how to increase his wages, to cut hours off the long work-day, which was killing him, to improve the safety and the sanitary conditions of the workshop, to free him from the tyrannies, petty or otherwise, which served to make his existence a slavery.[8]

Unlike its predecessors, the National Union of Labor and the Knights of Labor, The American Federation of Labor was built upon pragmatism. It accepted the economic system, established a loose federation of national unions and, if called upon, supported each union attempt to improve its members' wages and working conditions. Never radical, the American Federation of

Labor shied away from direct political involvement and instead, struggled for "bread-and-butter" issues. The purpose of The American Federation of Labor, as stated in its constitution, was:

> 1. ...the encouragement and formation of local Trade and Labor Unions, and the closer federation of such societies through the organization of Central Trade and Labor Unions in every city, and the further combination of such bodies, into State, Territorial or Provincial organization, to secure legislation in the interest of the working masses.
>
> 2. The establishment of National and International Trade Unions, based upon a strict recognition of the autonomy of each trade, and the promotion and advancement of such bodies.
>
> 3. An American Federation of all National and International Trade Unions, to aid and assist each other, to aid and encourage the sale of union-label goods, and to secure national legislation in the interests of the working people and influence public opinion, by peaceful and legal methods, in favor of organized labor.
>
> 4. To aid and encourage the labor press of America.[9]

The growth of the American Federation of Labor was continual, beginning with 150,000 members in 1886. By 1899 its rolls had reached 300,000. It jumped rapidly after World War I, reaching 3,050,000. With the growth of The American Federation of Labor, organized labor became more influential, politically. Organized labor established a Washington headquarters and began making its weight felt politically, by pushing for the eight-hour day, a limit to immigration, an end to child labor, and the legal recognition of labor's right to organize.

This union was successful because it had limited objectives whose realization would bring immediate relief from the pains of rapid industrialization. Its "bread-and-butter unionism" with its blend of hard realism, was easily understood and preeminently achievable. Every American worker knew the benefit of an eight-hour day and higher wages.

Furthermore, being a loose federation of unions, The American Federation of Labor supported local autonomy which allowed leaders to fashion their own structure and policies. In a country which was so diverse, ethnically and economically, this was an enormous advantage.

Also, the philosophy of The American Federation of Labor was essentially in tune with American life. Its "bread-and-butter" unionism, which concentrated on wages and working conditions, was completely attuned to 19th century materialism and never seriously attacked dominant American values. Unlike the National Labor Union or the Knights of Labor, which encouraged social reconstruction, The American Federation of Labor fought bitterly with the "captains of industry" but accepted them as a necessary part of the American economic system.

While The American Federation of Labor flourished because of its pragmatism, there arose, first in Europe and then in the United States, working class organizations, ideologically opposed to the whole capitalistic system. The desire of the Knights of Labor to organize cooperatives in mining, clothing, knitting, carpentry, plumbing and pottery reflected a deep-seated labor dissatisfaction with the emerging economic system after the Civil War.

Socialists like Eugene Debs, Daniel DeLeon and Morris Hillquit led the organizations which opposed capitalism as an economic system.

The most influential labor organization to espouse social reconstruction was the Industrial Workers of the World (I.W.W.) or Wobblies, as they were more popularly known. This organization brought together Socialists like Debs and DeLeon and labor leaders from the Western Federation of Miners.

The purpose of the I.W.W. was expressed in a Manifesto from a secret conference held in Chicago on January 2, 1905. The Manifesto pointed out: "...that machinery was wiping out the old skills and that 'resistance to capitalist tyranny may be weakened by artificial distinctions.'" Craft unionism was sharply attacked, and a movement consisting of "one great industrial union embracing all industries, providing for craft autonomy locally, industrial autonomy internationally, and working class unity generally"[10] was endorsed.

Although the I.W.W. had remarkable success in mobilizing "large unskilled masses, it was unable to build a large scale organization. Its successes were dramatic locally, but never lasting. As a result of its strike activities during World War I, the I.W.W. became the object of a relentless campaign of suppression. This campaign, coupled with organizational bumbling in the 1920's deprived it of any real influence in the labor movement. By the 1930's the I.W.W. was only a part of the folklore of the American radicalism, living in song rather than structure.

The 1920's were a period of rapid economic growth. The automobile industry began expanding from Detroit and Flint to cities in Indiana, Illinois, and California. The oil and rubber industries followed quickly. With the collapse of the stock market in 1929, the period of rapid economic expansion abruptly ended and many American workers found themselves without jobs. Sinking economic activity, falling wages and rapidly rising unemployment created an unprecedented challenge to organized labor.

This challenge caused serious organizational problems within the AFL, leading initially to the formation of a Committee for Industrial Organization within the AFL, and finally, to the formation of a separate labor union called the Congress of Industrial Organization, more popularly the CIO. The major thrust of the Committee and later the CIO was the organization of the mass production industries which burgeoned during the economic expansion of the 1920's. As Gus Tyler summarized the movement:

> In 1935, several unions and union leaders set up a Committee of Industrial Organization whose object it was to encourage unionization of mass production. The CIO proposed to set up new unions along 'industrial', rather than craft lines, so that all employees of a given company--unskilled as well as skilled, the man on the moving belt as well as the tool and die maker--would be in one union. In such unity, the CIO hoped to find strength.
>
> By the mid-30's, the workers in auto, steel, textiles, chemicals, oil, apparel, radio and electronic manufacture were on the move. The labor movement was reborn. By 1936, the unions counted 4.4 million; by 1937, 5.7 million; by 1938, 6 million; by 1939, 6.5 million; and by 1940, 7.2 million. A labor movement that had represented about 10-12% of the non-agricultural employees between 1909 and 1933 now spoke for 20%. By 1953, the percent rose to 32%.
>
> The unions affiliated with the old AFL grew alongside the new unions of the CIO. Most of the traditional craft unions adjusted to the times, accepting the 'industrial' form where desirable to organize mass manufacture. Consequently, the American labor movement after 1937 became a two-tiered structure that included both the less skilled industrial worker and the skilled tradesman.[11]

The rapid growth of industrial unionism during the 30's and 40's presented the new unions with serious problems. One of the most difficult was the struggle to limit and then eliminate communists who sought to use the movement to increase their power in order to support Soviet influence.

During the 1920's, the Communist party had little influence in the trade union movement. The depression changed this. The economic misery of the 30's increased the number of critics of the capitalist system and, dramatically, multiplied the strength of the Communist party. The party sought to infiltrate and shape the changes which were occurring in the trade union movement. It also sought to dominate the leadership of several newly emerging industrial unions.

The final blow to communist infiltration was the active anti-communist movement within the CIO during the late 1940's and early 50's, which led to the expulsion of several communist dominated unions.

By the 1950's growing political hostility to labor generally forced the leadership of both the CIO and the AFL to reconsider their differences and seek some common basis for organizational unity. This movement was aided by the absence of the former protagonists, and by the statesmanship of George Meany and Walter Reuther who foresaw the enormous benefits of a united labor movement. In 1955 negotiations between the AFL and the CIO were completed, and the AFL-CIO was reunited.

Once united, labor fought against increased attempts to curb its power legislatively. Beside this, the united labor movement supported progressive social legislation in the fields of education, housing and civil rights. In addition, the united labor movement supported organizational drives among white collar workers, especially in the civil service fields. By the 1960's there were dramatic results. In the period between 1964 and 1966 the AFSCME (American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees) increased their membership by 20%, the AFGE (American Federation of Government Employees) by 42% and AFT (American Federation of Teachers) by 14%.

The growth of new unionism was dramatically summarized in the official publication of the AFL-CIO in the summer of 1971:

> Not since the surge of unionism in the 1930's has the labor movement experienced anything comparable to the current trade union breakthrough among public employees. In less than a decade, union membership has at least tripled among employees of federal, state and local governments. Today, thousands of collective bargaining agreements cover millions of workers...[12]

Part 1: Pre-Civil War: Documents 1-3

Prior to the Civil War, technological inventions altered the means of production and increased the need for labor associations. The first selections describe the process and discuss its impact on the laboring class. These descriptions will give the student some insight into the reasons why labor organized to improve its security, increase wages and achieve better working conditions.

Part 2: Post Civil War: Documents 4-10

After the Civil War, industrialization proceeded at a faster pace. Swiftly throughout the Northeast, coal and steel became the symbols of a newly emerging America.

The readings and suggested student activities illustrate the conditions that led to bitter industrial strife and, partly as a result of this struggle, the growth of strong national unions.

Part 3: The Twentieth Century: Documents 11-15

By the beginning of the 20th century, national unions had gained a footing in American society and a central federation under the leadership of Samuel Gompers had been established.

The readings and activities in this section describe the troubled growth of a labor organization seeking stability in a society rapidly and erratically becoming totally industrialized.

Section II The Structure of Organized Labor: Documents 16-39

Today, organized labor is an influential force throughout American society. Unions are active in shops, factories, schools and glass-encased office buildings. Especially in the large urban centers such as New York, Chicago, San Francisco, Los Angeles, St. Louis, Detroit and Boston, organized labor participates significantly in the political, economic and social processes of the community.

In this section, we shall examine the formal structure of organized labor and how this structure functions on the national and local levels.

In 1971 there were approximately 19,000,000 union members who constituted 23% of the total non-agricultural work force. Of these 19 million members, approximately 14 million were members of the AFL-CIO. The AFL-CIO is a federation of autonomous national and international unions, some of whose functions are:

1. Aid and support member unions in increasing their membership and in bargaining with employes.
2. Promote legislation favorable to the interests of workers.
3. Educate and influence the public and government officials to adopt a sympathetic attitude towards unions.
4. Urge voters to elect candidates whose records indicate that they are sympathetic to the aims of labor unions.

Part 1: Union Membership: Documents 16-26

As noted previously, there are about twenty million union members; about 20% of the American workers are unionized. Getting twenty million Americans to join unions was a struggle which began in the 19th century and still has not ended.

Therefore, the first question which arises about any union is, why do people join? Since the answer to the question is more complicated than appears, the initial selection of reading materials and activities presents graphs, charts, questionnaires to help students come to some tentative answers.

Part 2: Organizing Unions: Documents 27-32

Unions, like business and government, are complicated social institutions created to satisfy many different needs. To achieve these ends, unions have evolved their own unique organizations, complex in structure, often misunderstood.

Therefore, the question we are seeking to answer in this section is: How are unions organized and what do they do?

To help the student draw his own conclusions, we have included graphs, pictures, authorization card, ballot and an agreement between a fictitious union and a fictitious company.

Part 3: Basic Labor Legislation: Documents 32-35

The documents in this section are presented to help the student understand basic legislation affecting all union-employer agreements.

Part 4: Changing Labor: Documents 36-39

Since unionism has dynamic life, its composition, organization and its demands are constantly changing.

These readings and activities should help answer the question: How are organized labor and its demands changing?

Section III Organized Labor and Politics: Documents 40-42

Organized labor has always played an active role in the nation's political processes. Although its primary purpose has been economic, it has supported, either out of necessity or commitment, broader political issues. Whether it wished to or not, organized labor has been absorbed in major political struggles during the 19th and 20th centuries in America.

Although organized American labor during the 19th century was rarely completely political or ideological, it did sporadically enter politics, either to defend itself or to endorse broad social legislation. In self-defense, labor supported an end to child labor, the ten-hour day, the eight-hour day and a halt to immigration which many organized workers felt threatened to depress wages and cause widespread unemployment. Labor also supported legislative movement that sought to democratize American society--free public education, woman suffrage, direct election of senators and civil rights. Local labor groups supported the Populist and Progressive parties in their attempts to introduce major social changes in American society.

However, with the formation, in 1886, of the American Federation of Labor, organized labor tried to avoid direct entry into politics. Rather, the federation sought to concentrate on immediate "bread and butter issues," or direct support to national unions in their bitter struggles for recognition and survival.

Although the American Federation of Labor as an organization shied away from organized politics, it did not mean that its leaders were not politically influential or that its leaders were politically mute. Samuel Gompers, himself, recognized the importance of politics and expressed his concern as he spoke to the annual convention of the American Federation of Labor in Baltimore on December 8, 1887:

> ... laws that are passed frequently are of a discriminating character against those who possess nothing but their power to labor. It seems to me that the trade unions, apart from their work of attending to the matter of wages, hours of labor, and unjust conditions of labor, should extend their thoughts and action more largely into the sphere and affairs of the government. We have a right to demand legislation in the interest of the workers...[13]

Seven years later at the annual American Federation of Labor convention in Denver, Gompers reiterated this concern:

> Beyond doubt, few, if any will contend that the workers should refuse to avail themselves of their political rights or fail to endeavor to secure such demands which they make by the exercise of political power.[14]

However, his emphasis upon the immediate economic struggle left a legacy which was difficult to change. Even though a British Labour Party was organized in the 1890's, organized labor in the United States was unable to get sufficient support to organize a separate labor party.

At best, small segments of the American Labor movement supported certain political parties such as the Socialist Party and the Progressive Party. The national federation was careful to avoid a sustained political commitment.

It was only in the 1930's that labor fully recognized the importance of politics. This recognition grew out of the economic crisis which forced Americans to realize that only determined government action could reestablish economic stability and prosperity.

The passage of the National Industrial Recovery Act and of the Wagner Labor Relations Act demonstrated dramatically how legislation could legitimatize labor's action. Government recognition of labor's right to bargain led to an unprecedented growth of organized labor among the skilled and unskilled industrial workers throughout urban United States. Labor's successful growth led to an even greater awareness of the importance of politics as a means of achieving economic and social goals.

Consequently, union members and union leaders became more aware of the growing interrelationship between politics and labor's broader social need. Wages, working conditions, seniority, and grievances were only part of the union's functions. More and more, workers demanded that unions work politically to protect their rights and improve housing, health care and education.

Thus, union growth as a result of the labor legislation of the 1930's increased the awareness of politics in its relationship to the welfare of the workers. An expression of this was the formation of the American Labor Party in New York and the creation of the Liberal Party in New York City in which major labor leaders like David Dubinsky and Alex Rose played important roles.

Another expression of this realization was the formation within the new unions of a political action committee whose sole purpose was to influence politics.

Initially, PAC, as the Committee was called, began to organize labor's resources in support of those politicians who were sympathetic to labor's interest. PAC also actively supported social legislation which it felt important. It did this by organizing men and raising money, both nationally and locally, to support labor's interests. As Philip Murray, President of the CIO stated:

> For the first time in American history, the forces of labor are now setting up a nationwide organization to protect the political rights of the workingman, as well as the rights of the returning soldier, the farmer, the small businessman and the so-called "common man."[15]

The Political Action Committee sought to collect money, canvass, organize precinct workers, publish a variety of pamphlets to support local and national candidates favorable to labor's immediate interests and its longer range social goals: racial equality and full equality for women.

Initially, PAC entered the campaign in the 1944 national election and supported Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Political Action Committee of the CIO was the forerunner of today's COPE. (Committee on Political Education) which was established to influence the political process, locally and nationally.

COPE was and is committed to:

1. support programs to provide better education
2. protect the rights of all individuals
3. provide full employment at a decent wage
4. achieve social and economic justice
5. establish sound and fair labor relations
6. develop better housing
7. expand social insurance programs for the ill, for the elderly, for the unemployed and those injured on the job
8. provide fair tax laws
9. ease the burden of poverty
10. protect consumers
11. protect and develop our resources
12. help solve the pressing problems of urban life
13. support foreign trade and aid.

It attempts to do this by endorsing candidates both nationally and locally which the AFL-CIO considers closest to its policies. Besides endorsement of candidates, COPE reports facts about issues and candidates. It publishes voting records of elected officials and carries on extensive drives to help people register and vote.

Besides COPE, which is essentially a national organization, many State and Central Labor Councils are active politically. Most, if not all, State and Central Labor Councils have their own legislative representatives as well as friends and manpower available to support politicians and legislation which are favorable to their interests; also, many international unions have their own legislative representatives as well as friends and manpower available to support politicians and legislation which are favorable to their interests; also, many international unions have their own COPE departments or an equivalent.

Locals are also deeply involved in the political process, either defending their interests or else seeking to improve the living conditions of their members. The local's political action usually has a very direct effect upon its members, and it is here that union members get the clearest picture of the importance of political action in their own lives.

Part 1: Political Views of 19th Century American Labor: Document 40

The initial collection of documents and activities illustrates organized labor's political consciousness, as well as its concern, for the broader social issues which existed in 19th century America. Although, as previously mentioned, the American Federation of Labor under the leadership of Gompers concentrated on immediate economic issues, labor never completely lost its political consciousness. The documents in this section display the spectrum of labor's political consciousness as well as the opinion of its leaders on such issues as free speech, women's suffrage, conservation and others, which arose in the 19th century and became burning social issues by the 20th century. However, it must be remembered that these selections are limited and do not give a complete picture of labor's political consciousness. Labor, like every other facet of American life, manifested heterogeneity and multiplicity. These selections deal only with some of its dominant interests.

Part 2: Labor and Politics in the 20th Century: Documents 41-42

This collection of documents and activities explores the policies and organizations which labor created after the 1930's to bring about the political change.

The material concentrates on two organizations which labor created for direct involvement in the political process: PAC and COPE. Although labor became involved in many other ways, these two influential organizational structures symbolized and demonstrated labor's commitment to direct political involvement.

Section IV Organized Labor and Technological Change: Documents 43-46

Technological change has created serious problems for American Society in general and for organized labor in particular. Technologically, a revolution is occurring. With unprecedented and historic speed, whole industries have disappeared and new ones have arisen. Alvin Toffler's Future Shock[16] brilliantly catalogues the process:

> This acceleration is frequently dramatized by a thumbnail account of the progress in transportation. It has been pointed out, for example, that in 6000 B.C. the fastest transportation available to man over long distances was the camel caravan, averaging eight miles per hour. It was not until about 1600 B.C. when the chariot was invented that the maximum speed was raised to roughly twenty miles per hour.
>
> So impressive was this invention, so difficult was it to exceed this speed limit, that nearly 3,500 years later, when the first mail coach began operating in England in 1784, it averaged a mere ten mph. The first steam locomotive, introduced in 1825, could muster a top speed of only thirteen mph, and the great sailing ships of the time labored along at less than half that speed. It was probably not until the 1880's that man, with the help of a more advanced steam locomotive, managed to reach a speed of one hundred mph. It took the human race millions of years to attain that record.
>
> It took only fifty-eight years, however, to quadruple the limit so that by 1938 airborne man was cracking the 400-mph line. It took a mere twenty-year flick of time to double the limit again. And by the 1960's rocket planes approached speeds of 4000 mph, and men in space capsules were circling the earth at 18,000 mph. Plotted on a graph, the line representing progress in the past generation would leap vertically off the page.

These technological changes have created new and serious problems for organized labor because they have altered the conditions of work in almost every industry. The pace and scope of change have made skills obsolete, dislocated industries and intensified a feeling of insecurity in factories and offices from New York to San Francisco.

What is technological change?

Technological change transforms the methods of producing or distributing and storing goods and services. Its aim usually is to increase efficiency--produce more with less--and thereby cut unit cost. Typically it involves the application of machinery, powered by water, steam or heat, later by electricity, and possibly tomorrow by atomic energy.

Technological change recently has "employed" electronic computers, automatic production lines, the replacement of steam engine railroads by diesel engines, by airplane transportation, by huge trucks and large buses.

Since World War II the new technological revolution has been concentrated in the area of automatic and semi-automatic production methods, usually referred to as automation. In addition, it has also been associated with the use of electronic computers for obtaining and storing huge amounts of information at extremely rapid rates and in small spaces.

Associated with these technological changes is a dramatic increase in productivity. For example, in the period 1947-72 productivity in the United States was at an annual rate of 3.2 percent which is 50 percent faster than the 2 percent which existed in the period from 1919-1947. Also associated with this change has been the movement of industry from relatively tall buildings in the cities to large one-story structures in the suburbs. Furthermore, there has been a dramatic change in the kinds of skills workers needed and the types of skills required by the automated or semi-automated processes.

Rapid technological change produces insecurities for workers. Their jobs may be eliminated completely. They may have to uproot themselves as their factory or office moves, maybe hundreds of miles away. Old skills, developed over years of training and experience, may become obsolete, new skills may be required.

Rapid technological change also intensifies the workers' insecurity in a highly competitive economy. As a noted authority phrased it:

> The conflict between the worker and the emerging new forms of technology is as old as the industrial revolution. It took violent forms before the rise of trade unions in the Luddite riots of old England. Stanley Mathawson describes the restriction of output among the unorganized in 1931 long before the great organizing drives of 1933-1937. The term *featherbedding* came into vogue when some of these feelings and restrictions found their way into the collective agreements between the trade unions and management. The blindness of hindsight has led us to view the fears and alarms of those early workers with an amused and patronizing air as we look back to the tremendous industrial expansion since those days. It has been pointed out *ad nauseam* how many more jobs were created over those lost. The tragic actors who had to subsidize those changes with their own short-run lives have faded into an ignored historical limbo.[17]

While the American worker, because of unique historical conditions, has never really opposed technological change, it has intensified the workers' insecurity, widened the range of issues in collective bargaining and complicated negotiations between management and labor.

To meet these needs, organized labor negotiated plans to ease some of the pain created by rapid technological change. One such plan was negotiated between Armour & Company and the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butchermen of North America (AFL-CIO) and the United Packinghouse, Food and Allied Workers' Unions of America (AFL-CIO). This agreement provided for joint aid for nearly 1,500 production and maintenance workers who lost their jobs when Armour & Company closed its Sioux City, Iowa meat packing plant in June 1963.

Another interesting plan was negotiated between the United Steelworkers of America and the Kaiser Steel Company. The plan provided that, while no one is guaranteed employment in the face of technological change,

> ... rather, Kaiser guarantees that, starting March 1, 1963, even though there were changes in methods, it will reduce the current total number of employees below the number required to produce comparable tonnage in 1961 only to the extent that attrition or increased production can absorb those displaced. The number thus technologically displaced will constitute an employment reserve that is guaranteed employment.[18]

Although the unions have moved to meet the problems raised by the technological revolution, they are far from solved. Organized labor will probably find that these problems will become more serious as the technological change accelerates.

Part 1: Scope of Technological Change: Documents 43-44

The first selection of documents and activities should give the reader some indication of the scope of the technological change. Although the emphasis is upon mass production industries, these readings could have included almost every industry in the United States.

Part 2: The Workers and Technological Change: Documents 45-46

Technological change has had an enormous impact upon the labor movement. Not only has it changed labor's composition, but it has also perceptibly altered collective bargaining issues.

The documents and suggested activities that follow indicate how labor is moving to meet the challenges of technological change.

Bibliography

AEP, The Rise of Organized Labor, Xerox Corporation, Middletown, Conn., 1963.

AFL-CIO, Proceeding of the AFL-CIO 8th Constitutional Convention.

Abbott, Edith, Women in Industry: A Study in American Economic History, Arco Press Report, New York, 1969.

Anderson, Jervis A., A. Philip Randolph, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Inc., New York, 1973.

Aronson, Robert, Jobs, Wages and Changing Technology, Bulletin #55, State School of Industrial Relations, Cornell University, Ithaca, 1965.

Auerbach, Jerold, Labor and Liberty: The Lafollette Commission and the New Deal, Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis, 1966.

Barbash, Jack, American Unions: Structure, Government and Politics, Random House, New York, 1967.

Beard, Mary, The American Labor Movement, Arno Press Reprint, New York.

Bell, Daniel, Work and Its Discontent, League for Industrial Democracy.

Bima, Anthony, The Molly Maguires, International Publishers, New York, 1932.

Bok and Dunlap, Labor and the American Community, Simon and Shuster, New York, 1970.

Brandeis, Louis, Women in Industry, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1963.

Brooks, Robert R., When Labor Organizes, History of the Formation of the CIO, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Brooks, Thomas R., Toil and Trouble, Delacorte Press, 1970.

Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, The Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, 1965.

Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bulletin #1665, Washington, 1969.

Byington, Margaret, Homestead: The Household of a Mill Town, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Coleman, J. Walter, The Molly Maguire Riots: Industrial Conflict in the Pennsylvania Coal Region. Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Coleman, McAlister, Man and Coal, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Commons, John R., Industrial Government, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1967.

Copeland, Melvin, The Cotton Manufacturing Industry of the United States, A.M. Kelley, New York, 1969.

Dacus, Joseph A., Annals of the Great Strikes: History of the Numerous Railroad Strikes During the 1877's, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Derber, Milton, Labor and the New Deal, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, Wisconsin, 1957.

Douglas, Paul H., The Worker in Modern Economic Society, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Dubofsky, Melvin, We Shall Be All, Quadrangle Press, Chicago, 1969.

Dulles, Foster R., Labor in America, Cromwell, New York, 1966.

Ernest, M. Immigrant Life in New York, Ira J. Friedman, Inc., New York, 1965.

Fine, Nathan, Labor and Farmer Parties in the United States 1828-1928, Rand School of Social Studies, New York, 1928.

Fitch, John A., The Steel Worker: Analysis and Portrait of the Steel Worker in Allegheny County in 1907-8 Era, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Gardner, Joseph, Labor on the March, American Heritage Publishers, New York, 1969.

Gompers, Samuel, Labor and the Common Welfare, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Gompers, Samuel, Labor and the Employer, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Goodman, Jay S., The Democrats and Labor in Rhode Island 1952-62: Changes in the Old Alliances, Brown University Press, Providence, 1967.

Greenstone, J. David, Labor in American Politics, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1969.

Gregory, Charles P., Labor and the Law, Norton, New York 1958.

Haywood, William D., Bill Haywood's Book: The Autobiography of William D. Haywood, International Publishers Co., Inc., 1929.

Hiller, Ernest T., The Strike: A Study in Collective Action, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Hoffman, Claude E., Sit-Down in Anderson: UAW Local 663 Anderson, Indiana, Wayne State University, Detroit, 1968.

Jacobs, Paul, The State of the Unions, Atheneum Press, New York, 1963.

Jones, Mary, Autobiography of Mother Jones, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Josephson, Matthew, Sidney Hillman: Statesman of American Labor, Doubleday & Co., Garden City, New York, 1952.

Korson, George, John L. Lewis: Young Militant Labor Leader. Bobbs, Merrill & Co., New York, 1970.

Lane, Winthrop D., Civil War in West Virginia, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Laush, W. Jett, Conditions of Labor in American Industries, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Levinson, Edward, I Break Strikes: The Techniques of Pearl L. Bergoff, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Lister, Richard A., Labor: Readings on Major Issues, Random House, New York, 1965.

Litwack, Leon, The American Labor Movement, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1962.

Lorant, Stefan, Pittsburgh: The Story of an American City, Doubleday & Co., Garden City, N.Y., 1964.

Lorevin, Louis, The Woman's Garment Workers: History of the Growth of a Union, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

McCabe, David A., Labor and Social Organization, Little, Brown & Co., Boston, Mass., 1938.

Marshall, Ray, The Negro Worker, Random House, New York, 1967.

National Maritime Union, On a True Course, Markle Press, New York, 1967.

Nunn, Henry L., The Whole Man Goes to Work, Harper & Bros., New York, 1953.

O'Connor, Harvey, Revolution in Seattle, Monthly Review Press, New York, 1964.

Pelling, Henry, American Labor, University of Chicago Press, Chicago, 1960.

Perlman, Mark, The Machinists: A New Study in American Trade Unionism, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1961.

Rehmus, Charles and McLaughlin, Doris B., Labor and American Politics, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 1967.

Seager, Henry R., Labor and Other Economic Essays, Books for Library Press, Freeport, N.Y., 1968.

Stein, Leon and Taft, Philip, The Pullman Strike, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Stolberg, Benjamin, The Story of the CIO, Arno Press Reprint, New York, 1969.

Strong, Merle E., Industrial, Labor and Community Relations, Delmar Publishing, Albany, 1969.

Taft, Philip, Labor Politics American Style: The California State Federation of Labor, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1968.

Taft, Philip, Organized Labor in American History, Harper & Row, New York, 1964.

Tyler, Gus, The Labor Revolution, The Viking Press, New York, 1967.

Tyler, Gus, Labor in the Metropolis, Charles E. Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1972.

Ware, Norman, The Industrial Worker 1840-1860, Quadrangle Books, Chicago, 1964.

Yellen, Samuel, *American Labor Struggles*, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Wortman, Jr., Max S., *Critical Issues in Labor Text and Readings*, McMillan Co., New York, 1961.

Zausner, Philip, *Unvarnished*, Brotherhood Press, New York, 1941.

Educational Materials

THE UFT FILM LIBRARY

Available free to NYSUT members. Order in writing on school stationery giving three alternate show dates from:

Association-Sterling
866 Third Avenue
New York, N.Y. 10022
Att: OB

Films

The Inheritance. Black and white, approximately 1 hour, comes in two reels.
This well-known film presents a history of the labor struggles of this country with a concentration on the clothing industry. Considered by many to be the best labor film made, *The Inheritance* deals with the social problems faced by immigrant groups, the rise of a wealthy class in America, and many other factors which affected the ability of workers to organize. Produced by Harold Mayer Productions for the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America.

Movin' On. Color and black and white, approximately 1 hour, comes in two reels.
The history of railroading told through the eyes of labor is the subject of this treatment of union development in the railroad industry. This film covers everything from the development of the American Railway Union by Eugene Debs to the present UTU. Produced by Harold Mayer Productions for the United Transport Workers Union.

Video Tapes

Historical and Contemporary Issues of American Labor. One hour tapes, including instruction and concluding discussion. Each lecture can be viewed in 45 minutes. Prominent labor leaders, historians and experts discuss past and present problems and programs of organized labor. Each tape, a lesson in itself, provides the audience with an opportunity to meet, on an intimate basis, a personality instrumental in the labor movement. These tapes can be used as the basis for a labor curriculum or can be successfully integrated in many existing high school Social Studies units.

- Why Organized Labor--Bayard Rustin
- Birth of the American Labor Movement--Thomas Brooks
- Industrial Unionism--The Rise of the CIO--Prof. Brendan Sexton
- Labor's Participation in the Political Process--William DuChessi
- What Does a Contract Mean for a Worker--Wilber Daniels
- Organizing the Un-Organized--William Kircher
- Labor's Legislative Program--Evelyn Dubrow
- Economic Conditions of the Workers--Gus Tyler
- Labor's Stake in International Affairs--Roy Godson
- Role of Labor in American Society--Tom Kahn
- Youth and Labor--Charlotte Roe
- Immigration & the Labor Movement--Leon Stein

Preparing for Jobs of the 70's. Two parts: 15 minutes and 14 minutes.
Investigates changing economic and cultural patterns as we move towards the 70's and relates them to education and training required today to meet the needs of the next decade. Discusses opportunities that lie ahead.
Available from:

Guidance Associates
Pleasantville, N.Y.

Where the Action Is. (27-1/2 minute sound, color, 16 mm.) filmstrip.
The film depicts work in today's complex technological world and shows how vocational and technical education can prepare young people through proper training, particularly at the post-secondary level, for their place in the world of work.
Available from:

Du Art Film Laboratories Inc.
U.S. Government Film Service
245 West 55th Street
New York, N.Y. 10010

FILMSTRIPS

Labor Closes Ranks. Available from:

New York Times
229 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y. 10036

MULTI MEDIA KITS

Viewpoints on American Labor.

1. Bobbins and Bayonets (The Lawrence Strike)
2. The Siege at Homestead (The Homestead Strike)
3. Trouble on the Tracks (The Pullman Strike)
4. Rebellion in Colorado (The Colorado Miners' Strike)

Available from:

Random House
201 East 50th Street
New York, N.Y.

The Growth of the Labor Movement.

Available from:

Guidance Associates
Pleasantville, N.Y.

RECORDS

Talking Union. L.P. Folkways - FH 5285

Available from:

Folkways Records
43 West 61st Street
New York, N.Y. 10023

POSTERS

A set of 28 four-color posters depicting the history and the growth of organized labor from the colonial days to the present is available for $4.25 from:

United Auto Workers
Education Department
8000 East Jefferson Avenue
Detroit, Michigan 48214

FOOTNOTES

1. Philip Taft, *Organized Labor in American History*, Harper and Row, New York, 1964, p.5.
2. Mary Beard, *The American Labor Movement*, Arno and the New York Times, New York, 1969, p.49.
3. *Ibid*., p. 65.
4. Philip Taft, *op*. *cit*., p. 85.
5. Philip Taft, *op*. *cit*., p. 85.
6. Philip Taft, *op*. *cit*., p. 115.
7. Philip Taft, *op*. *cit*., p. 91.
8. Samuel Gompers, "Annual Report of the American Federation of Labor Convention, Atlanta, Georgia, November, 1911", *Labor and Common Welfare*, E. P. Dutton Co., New York, 1919, p. 20.
9. Norton Aldrich, *The American Federation of Labor*, Arno and the New York Times, New York, 1969, p. 232.
10. Philip Taft, *op*. *cit*., pp. 289-290.
11. Gus Tyler, *Labor in Metropolis*, Charles E. Merrill, Columbus, Ohio, 1972, p. 35.
12. David Perlman, "The Surge of Public Employee Unionism," *The American Federationist*, June, 1971, p.1.
13. Samuel Gompers, *Labor and the Employer*, Arno and the New York Times, New York, 1971, pp. 1-2.
14. *Ibid*., pp. 7-8.
15. Joseph Gaer, *The First Round*, Duell Sloane and Pearce, New York, 1944, p. 261.
16. Alvin Toffler, *Future Shock*, Random House, New York, 1970, p.1.
17. William Gomberg, "Property Rights on the Job," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, Vol. 333, January 1961, p. 5.
18. Max Wortman, *Critical Issues in Labor*, The Macmillan Company, New York, 1961, p. 187.

Documents

Section I The Growth of Organized Labor

1. Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: The Shoemakers.. 53

2. Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: The Needle Trades..................................... 55

3. Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: Wages.. 58

4. Working Conditions in a Coal Mine.................. 61

5. The Company Store: A Description by a Massachusetts Quarryman, 1879....................... 64

6. A Contemporary Account of the Origin of the Great Railroad Strike............................. 66

7. Poster of Homestead Circa 1900...................... 69

8. Historical Description of Homestead................ 70

9. Living Conditions of Homestead Workers in 1900: Table and Dinner Pail.............................. 73

10. The Great Homestead Strike of 1892................. 76

11. Historical Account of the Birth of the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union......... 80

12. How Famous Labor Leader Sidney Hillman Joined the Union.................................. 84

13. John L. Lewis Creates Industrial Unionism.. 88

14. A Labor Song of the 1930's......................... 93

15. A Labor Song of the 1970's......................... 94

Section II The Structure of Organized Labor

16. The Structure of the AFL-CIO........................ 96

17. The Member Unions of the AFL-CIO.................... 97

18. United Auto Workers Staff Departments.............. 99

19. Chart: The Basic Structure of Unionism............. 101

20. Charts of Union Membership.......................... 103

21. Statistics on Growth of United States Economy... 106

22. Chart Showing Percentage of Union Membership in Western Europe and the United States............. 109

23. Tables Showing Percentage of Union Membership by Industry and Percentage of Union Membership by Occupation...................... 112

24. Geographical Distribution of Organized Labor... 114

25. Profile of the Union Member......................... 116

26. Chart of the Structure of Local 374 AFL-CIO........ 118

27. A Union Authorization Card.......................... 120

28. Why a Worker Joins a Union.......................... 121

29. Satisfactions Members Get from Their Unions......... 122

30. A Constitution of a Fictitious Union................ 123

31. Sample Notice of an Election to Select a Collective Bargaining Agent......................... 129

32. A Fictitious Collective Bargaining Agreement........ 132

33. Basic Labor Legislation: The National Labor Relations Act.................................. 140

34. Basic Labor Legislation: The Taft-Hartley Act............................... 142

35. Basic Labor Legislation: The Landrum-Griffin Act.. 144

36. UFT Meeting Calendar................................ 145

37. Collective Bargaining at Philco..................... 147

38. New Goals for Collective Bargaining................. 152

39. The Surge of Public Employee Unionism............... 155

Section III Organized Labor and Politics

40. Political Views of American Labor in the 19th Century: Speeches and Statements of Samuel Gompers.............................. 157

41. The CIO Political Action Committee.............. 162

42. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education..... 167

Section IV Organized Labor and Technological Change

43. A Union Sharing Plan: Kaiser Steel Union Collective Bargaining Agreement................. 171

44. Push-Button Miner.............................. 173

45. Organized Labor Moves in New Directions.......... 176

46. Organized Labor Today............................. 178

GLOSSARY... 189

POSTERS

1. Workers Organize--Labor Day Parade, Union Square 1887
2. Child Labor--Virginia Glass Factory--a Carring-in-boy Who Works All Night Every Other Week
3. Homestead--A Mill Town Circa 1900
4. Members of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union in a Modern Shop
5. United Federation of Teachers Demonstrate for Better Schools

Section I

Documents 1-15

Document 1

Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: The Shoemakers

The following readings describe the changes, inventions brought into the lives of shoemakers and needle-trade workers in the 1840's and 50's.

From: The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860, Norman Ware,
Quadrangle, New York, 1967, pp. 38-39.

The changes in the boot and shoe industry in the forties and fifties were of two sorts; those that were simply a continuation and accentuation of changes found in the preceding period, and those arising from the introduction of machinery. In the preceding decades the wholesale manufacture of shoes was increasingly supplanting the custom and retail work and the rewards of labor had fallen correspondingly. Custom work had paid from $1.40 to $2.75 per pair from 1800 to 1810. In 1835, wholesale work paid only $1.12 per pair. The important changes in the position of the shoemaker in our period were effected by the displacement of the merchant capitalist by the factory owner as the chief organizer of production. This change was facilitated by the failure of many of the older New England firms in the depression of 1837-39.

Thus we find three stages in the social revolution in the shoe trade up to 1860; the stage of the master workman and his journeymen up to 1830; the merchant capitalist stage, to 1840; and the stage of the factory owner, with or without machinery, until 1860. The character of the merchant capitalist stage from the standpoint of the master and journeyman is seen in the protest of the journeymen cordwainers of Philadelphia in 1835.

If we take a retrospective view of our trade we will find that a few years ago the slowest of our profession could earn at least seven or eight dollars per week and that by no greater exertion than it now requires to make four or five....From that time to the present the trade has been gradually sinking, at least so far as the interests of the journeymen are concerned. The cunning men from the East have come to our city, and having capital themselves, or joining with those who had, have embarked in our business and realized large fortunes by reduction of our wages....

Document 1 (cont'd.)

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What changes occurred in the boot and shoe industry during the 1840's and 1850's?
2. How did the factory system change the conditions under which shoemakers worked?
3. If you were a shoemaker, would you have wanted to work in the newly organized factories? Explain your answer.
4. How did the factory system change the life of the shoemaker?
5. Why was unemployment a more serious problem once the factory system was introduced?
6. Was the shoemaker better or worse off after the introduction of the factory system? Explain your answer.
7. In what ways did the life of the shoemaker improve after the initial process of industrialization?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Research and present a report about the working conditions in shoe factories today. Compare them to the conditions which existed during the early period of industrialization in the United States.
2. Investigate the local shoemaker's shop and compare the local shoemaker's working conditions and income with that described in the preceding passage.

Document 2

Why The First Labor Associations Were Formed: The Needle Trades

From: The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860, Norman Ware,
Quadrangle, New York, 1967, pp. 48-50.

There was not in our period, or probably in any other, a more helpless and degraded class of workers than the needlewomen of the cities. Their condition had earlier enlisted the efforts of Mathew Carey and others, without appreciable result. They were incapable of organizing themselves permanently because of the semi-industrial nature of their trade and the surplus of that sort of labor. What little organization was achieved among them depended rather on the spasmodic efforts of 'humane persons' who interested themselves in their behalf.

From 1840 to 1860 a complete revolution occurred in the tailoring industry as a result of the introduction of ready-made clothing in common use. Until 1835 the only clothing kept for sale was 'shop clothing' which was sold almost entirely to seamen. The wholesale manufacture of clothes began in New York in 1835, but went under in the panic of 1837. In 1840 the trade revived and offered employment, such as it was, to thousands of women. At first, much of this work was sent into the country to be made up, but it was gradually being brought into the 'factories.'

The sewing machine made its appearance in the clothing trade in the early fifties. At first the tailor was required to buy his own machine and, as those who had sufficient savings to do this were few, those who had not were compelled to pay the machine tailor for straight stitching. The machine tailor soon discovered that his investment was not a paying one. His earnings were no greater than before and his savings were gone. The profit of the machine went to the bosses; "they got their work quicker and it was done better."

> The needle is sure soon to be consigned to the lumber-room [wrote Greeley in 1853], wherein our mother's "great wheel," "little wheel," loom and "swifts" are now silently moldering. Twenty years more may elapse..before the revolution will have been completed, but the sewing of a long straight

> seam otherwise than by machinery is even now a mistake, an anachronism. And the finger-plied needle, though it may be retained a few years longer for button-holes and such fancy work, has but a short lease left....

There were at this time four groups of needlewomen corresponding to the classes of work and the stages of advance toward the complete factory system of a later date. The journeymen dressmakers, who were employed by the week, often worked fourteen to sixteen hours a day, and were paid from $1.25 to $2.50 per week. The dressmakers who went into the homes of their customers were better paid, receiving 62½ cents, 75 cents, and $1 a day. Apprentices were usually paid nothing for the first six months and boarded themselves. They were frequently required to pay the employer $10 or $15 for the privilege of 'learning,' and, if they were unable to pay, they worked for a year without wages and boarded themselves. Instead of being taught the trade, the apprentices were usually kept at plain sewing, and at the end of the apprenticeship two thirds or three quarters of them were not trained dressmakers at all. The last group, and the lowest in the scale in every respect, were those who worked in their own homes, calling for their work and returning to the shop when it was finished. There were ten thousand of these women in New York City alone in 1854, and their wages, hours, and conditions of work were inconceivably bad. Widows in Cincinnati were supporting children by making shirts for ten cents each and pants for fifteen and seventeen cents. It was estimated that they could make nine shirts in a week, or ninety cents for a long week's work. In New York, in 1845, some of the needlewomen were being paid ten to eighteen cents a day for twelve to fourteen hours' work, while others, who were more proficient, were paid twenty-five cents a day. Work which had brought 97½ cents in 1844 was paid only 37½ cents in 1845. The average earnings of these women were $1.50 to $2 a week, though many of them could not earn more than $1.

> A great number of females are employed in making men's and boys' caps said the "Tribune" reporter in 1845. By constant labor, 15 to 18 hours a day, they can make from 14 to 25 cents. We are told by an old lady who has lived by this kind of work for a long time that when she begins at sunrise and works till midnight, she can earn 14 cents a day....
>
> The manner in which these women live, the squalidness and unhealthy location and nature of their habitations, the impossibility of providing for any of the slightest recreations or moral or intellectual culture or of educating their children, can be easily imagined; but we assure the public that it would require an extremely active imagination to conceive the reality.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What changes in the needle trades are described in this passage?
2. How did the introduction of the sewing machine influence the clothing trade?
3. Describe the conditions under which the women worked?
4. Within the reading passage there is the statement:

   > When the industrial worker and his friends protested that there was White slavery in the North as evil as the Black slavery of the South, they were thinking of conditions of this sort.

   From your reading, would you agree or disagree? Explain your answer.
5. Were wages in the needle trades depressed because most of the workers were women? Explain your answer.
6. Why did women accept the conditions described in this passage?

Topics for Independent Study

1. In the early days of industrialization, many workers labored long hours for low wages under cruel and dangerous working conditions. Research the role of unionism in changing these conditions.
2. Discuss three ways by which a member of the International Ladies' Garment Workers Union is better off than the women described above.

Document 3

Why the First Labor Associations Were Formed: Wages

From: The Industrial Worker, 1840-1860, Norman Ware,
Quadrangle, New York, 1967, pp. 68-69.

The normal wage for day labor in the thirties was one dollar a day, and in Philadelphia, in 1839, the laborers struck for an advance to $1.12½. This was allowed by some of the contractors, but most of them either refused it altogether or increased, in lieu of wages, the ration of whiskey. The whiskey allowance was one and a half pints a day, given out in nine doses.

A schedule of wages of masons and masons' laborers published in 1846 showed no increase in either case for the preceding decade. In 1836 the wages of masons in New York were $1.75 a day and of laborers $1. In 1840 masons' wages had fallen to $1.50 and those of laborers to 75 cents. By 1845 they had recovered and masons were again getting $1.75 and laborers $1. In 1843 the laborers' union in New York declared that $1 a day was a reasonable wage and objected to the employment of convicts on the roads, a method of using prison labor that was supported by the mechanics.

The "Laborers' Union Benevolent Association" of New York was formed in 1843 and chartered in 1845. The initiation fee was $2 and the monthly dues 12½ cents. A sick benefit was paid of $2 a week and a death benefit of $15.

In the spring of 1846 a large number of Irish laborers who had been at work during the winter for 65 cents a day went on strike for 87½ cents. As a result of the strike, the contractors hired

> a cargo of freshly landed Germans to take their places and ordered the laborers to quit the premises, which they refused to do and resorted to the lawless and unjustifiable step of endeavoring to drive the Germans from the work by intimidation and violence. Of course the military were called out, the Irish overawed, the Germans protected in their work, and thus the matter stands. So far, the contractors may be said to have triumphed.

Laborers' wages in the mills and elsewhere were no higher. Laborers with families to support were receiving

Document 3 (cont'd.)

as low as $250 a year at Lowell and were said to work harder than any other class of men. The Essex Corporation in the "new city" of Methuen became involved in a strike at this time as a result of an attempt to reduce the wages of the Irish laborers to eighty-four cents a day. In 1848 the Irish laborers, on an extension of the Connecticut River Railroad, were being paid seventy cents a day and struck for eighty-five cents. In 1850 Mooney reported that laborers' wages in the United States were eighty cents a day, and in New York they varied from $1 to $1.25. The same year the Laborers' Union decided to strike for a general rate of $1.12½. The "Tribune" pointed out that the laborer could work on an average only 200 days in the year, which would give him $200 a year at the common rate and $225 at the rate demanded by the laborers, and that this was not equal to 62½ cents a day in a farming community.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What changes in the conditions of labor are described in this article?
2. Why did the wages paid to laborers decline in certain trades?
3. How did labor act to keep their wages from being cut?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Where were the first factories located in the United States?
2. In the United States, which industries were the first to become industrialized?
3. Was the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the United States similar to that of Great Britain?
4. Some workers, viewing the machinery as the enemy, destroyed it. They were called Luddites. Find out about them. Imagine yourself asked to join them--record the imaginary dialogue.

Document 3 (cont'd.)

5. Was the suffering which workers experienced during the Industrial Revolution necessary?
6. How did the Industrial Revolution affect American political life?

Document 4

Working Conditions in a Coal Mine

In 1877 a journalist from the Labor Standard visited the anthracite mines in Pennsylvania. The following is his description of the breaker room of one of the mines.

From: The Molly Maguires, Anthony Bima, International,
New York, 1932, pp. 89-92.

In these works 300 men and boys are employed; and when I went through the buildings and through the mine I saw them all. Among all these 300, although I was with them for hours, I did not hear a laugh or even see a smile.

In a little room in this big, black shed--a room not twenty feet square--where a broken stove, red-hot, tries vainly to warm the cold air that comes in through the open window; forty boys are picking their lives away. The floor of the room is an inclined plane, and a stream of coal pours constantly in from some unseen place above, crosses the room, and pours out again into some unseen place below. Rough board seats stretch across the room, five or six rows of them, very low and very dirty, and on these the boys sit, and separate the slate from the coal as it runs down the inclined plane. It is a painful sight to see the men going so silently and gloomily about their work, but it is a thousand times worse to see these boys. They work here, in this little black hole, all day and every day, trying to keep cool in summer, trying to keep warm in winter, picking away among the black coals, bending over till their little spines are curved, never saying a word all the live-long day.

I stood and watched these boys for a long time, without being seen by them, for their backs are turned toward the entrance door and the coal makes such a racket that they cannot hear anything a foot from their ears. They were muffled up in old coats and old shawls and old scarfs, and ragged mittens to keep their hands from freezing, and as they sat and picked and picked, gathering little heaps of blackened slate by their sides, they looked more like so many black dwarfs than like a party of fresh young boys. The air was cold enough and the work was lively enough to

Document 4 (cont'd.)

paint any boy's cheeks in rosy colors; but if there was a red cheek in the room it was well hidden under the coating of black dust that covered everything. These little fellows go to work in this cold, dreary room at seven o'clock in the morning and work till it is too dark to see any longer. For this they get from $1 to $3 a week. One result of their work is the clean, free coal, that burns away to ashes in the grate; another result I found in a little miners' graveyard, beside a pretty little church, where more than every other stone bears the name of some little fellow under fifteen years of age.

The boys are all sizes and ages, from little fellows scarcebig enough to be wearing pantaloons up to youths of fifteen and sixteen. After they reach this age they go to work in the mine, for there they can make more money. Not three boys in all this roomful could read or write. Shut in from everything that is pleasant, with no chance to learn, with no knowledge of what is going on about them, with nothing to do but work, grinding their little lives away in this dusty room, they are no more than the wire screens that separate the great lumps of coal from the small. They have no games; when their day's work is done they are too tired for that. They know nothing but the difference between slate and coal.

The smallest of the boys do not get more than $1 a week, and from this the pay goes up to $2 and $3. Some of them live several miles from the colliery, and are carried to the mine every morning in the cars and back again every night, the company charging them ten cents for every trip and deducting the fares from their wages at the end of the month. Sometimes, after the boys have got to the mine, they find that some accident has stopped the work; then they have nothing to do for the day and get no pay. In this way, I am told, it is no unusual thing for a boy to find, at the end of the month, that his indebtedness to the company for railroad fares is some dollars more than the company's indebtedness to him for labor; so that he has worked all the month for a few dollars less than nothing.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. How does the correspondent of the Labor Standard view the boys' work?
2. Which do you feel are the worst conditions? Explain.
3. Why do you think these boys went to work under these conditions?

Document 4 (cont'd.)

4. Why were the boys paid so little?
5. What does the reporter mean when he writes: "forty boys are picking their lives away"?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Explain when and how was the United Mine Workers organized?
2. Describe which immigrant groups were attracted to the mines and explain why.
3. Describe how mining in the United States differed from mining in England?
4. What part did John Mitchell, John L. Lewis and Philip Murray play in the history of the United Mine Workers Union?
5. How did the formation of the United Mine Workers Union improve the working conditions of mine workers?
6. How did federal and state regulations help improve the working conditions of miners?
7. Why were the Molly Maguires organized?
8. How do working conditions in the mines today differ from those described above?

Document 5

The Company Store: A Description by a Massachusetts Quarryman, 1879

From: The American Labor Movement, Leon Litwack, Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, 1962, p. 17.

There are eight companies in the stone business here, only four of which are running at present; and, running or loafing, they have a store a piece. All their employees must trade in their stores; if not, "get work where you trade. We keep as good articles here as you can get elsewhere, and sell as cheap too." And that is all the satisfaction you will get for your complaint. I have had to pay $1.35 for a pair of children's shoes that I could buy outside for fifty cents, and so on with everything else, to $2.00 on a barrel of flour; and everybody else must do likewise, i.e., those who work on stone. And that is not all either: some of them have tenement houses, and they must be kept full, and those who live in them are in a complete stage of vassalage. And that is not all: no matter how frugally you live, you never get anything ahead; and those having helpless families scarcely ever receive a dollar. They are closely watched on the books, lest they might overrun their wages; and consequently they will get nothing, only as they earn it. Such is the atrocious system here; and this is a part of free, enlightened Massachusetts! I suppose, if the workingman protested against this state of affairs, they'd be dubbed "communists", but no; their manhood is completely gone. They dare not murmur at it even, and is it any wonder? They have no means to better their conditions; and it is, to say the least, deplorable.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Why does the quarryman feel the workers have lost their "manhood"?
2. Why does the worker buy in the company store?
3. How does the company store operate?
4. Do conditions like these aid the growth of unions?
5. Why do companies establish such stores?

6. How would an employer defend the practices mentioned above?

7. During the 19th and 20th centuries, company stores and houses were not uncommon. How might the lives of the following people be influenced by the fact that they lived in a company town:

    - workingman
    - policeman
    - school teacher
    - dissatisfied workingman
    - business leader
    - housewife
    - student

8. Many schools have within them stores which sell everything from candy to sneakers. Is the school store like or unlike the company store described above?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Do any such stores exist today? If so, where?
2. How do conditions in migratory working camps compare to the conditions described by the quarryman?

Document 6

A Contemporary Account of the Origin of the Great Railroad Strike

From: Annals of the Great Strikes: History of the Numerous Railroad Strikes During the 1870's, Joseph A. Dacus, Arno Press, New York, 1969, pp. 25-26.

In the beginning of July, 1877, a circular emanating from the offices of the superintendents of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway, was sent to all the employees of the Company, announcing a reduction of 10 percent from the wages which the Company was then paying. This curtailment of the income of the employees on the road, was to take effect on Monday, July 16th, 1877. This schedule of wages, according to the circular, reduced the pay of firemen from $1.75 and $1.50 per day, to $1.58 and $1.35 per day, according to the efficiency of the men. The pay of brakemen was fixed at a little less. One hundred miles was made to constitute a day's run. No allowance of time was permitted for delays at way stations.

The reception of this circular created no little ill-feeling among the railroad men. Groups of them met, and discussed their situation. The men asserted that they could not sustain themselves on the amount of wages the company proposed to pay them for their services. Meetings of employees were held at various points along the line of the road, and finally a plan of action was agreed upon.

A committee was appointed and instructed to confer with the officers of the company. Mr. Vice President King was appealed to, but declined to hear the complaints of the employees. Various efforts were made to procure the rescission of the order of reduction. These proved abortive. Meanwhile as the time fixed for the order of the Company to go into effect approached, the discontent of the men increased. At many localities along the road, small bodies of men expressed themselves in favor of striking. But it does not appear that up to the morning of the 16th, any concerted movement had been agreed upon by the firemen and brakemen of the Baltimore and Ohio Railway.

The morning of the 16th of July, 1877, at length dawned. Along the line of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, everything presented the usual appearance. Trains were moving; foundry men, machinists, engine drivers, firemen, brakemen, trackmen, switchmen and agents were at their posts of duty. The commerce of a large section of country was moving over the iron trackways. The officers of the road, too, were at their respective offices, little anticipating that within the space of twelve hours, a strike, such as was never before known in the history of America would be inaugurated along the line of that great highway. Intimations of coming trouble the managers of the road had had, but they trusted that the "hard times," would deter the men from carrying into execution any purpose they might have formed of deserting their posts of duty on the road.

The day wore on. The click of the telegraphic instruments in the office of the superintendents of the respective divisions announced the arrival and departure of trains to and from a thousand stations situated along a line of more than fourteen hundred miles of railway. There was no trouble as yet; and the lengthening shadows announced the day's decline. The afternoon was far advanced, and the officers of the great railway line had already begun to congratulate themselves, because the danger of a general strike appeared to have passed away.

But their self-gratulations were doomed to a sudden arrest. It was after five o'clock in the afternoon, when the announcement was made in the general offices of the Company at Baltimore, that a strike of the employees on the road was in progress at Camden Junction, near that city. About forty firemen at that point quit their engines, and persuaded twenty or thirty brakemen to join them in deserting their trains. As yet no intelligence had reached the managers of the road of disturbances elsewhere. Another force of firemen and brakemen were engaged to take out the waiting trains. But the trains were not taken out. The freight business of the road had been already completely embargoed. The trouble at Camden Junction appeared to have been easily disposed of, and for a time the officers anticipated nothing worse.

But it soon became manifest that the officers had misapprehended the nature and character of the movement among their employees. Reports came in rapid succession from the West, announcing that the railroad men at Cumberland, Martinsburg and other stations along the line were restless, discontented and insubordinate, and that the canal-boatmen had quit work and abandoned their boats.

Document 6 (cont'd.)

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Why did the railroad strike begin?
2. What did the workers do to support the strike?
3. Was the strike justified? Explain your answer.
4. If you had worked for the Baltimore and Ohio Railway in 1877, would you have joined the strike? Explain.
5. Why did the strike spread?
6. Could the strike have been avoided? Explain.
7. The railway officials were banking on the "hard times" in 1877 to stop the strike. What does this mean?

Document 7

Poster of Homestead circa 1900

From: Homestead, The Household of a Mill Town, Margaret Byington, Arno Press, New York, 1969.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. After studying the photograph, how would you describe the Homestead area?
2. Why are the workers' houses located so near to the factory? Looking at the photograph, what feelings do you have about the relationship of the factory to the lives of the workers?
3. What information can you learn about the industrial development of the United States by looking at the photograph?
4. What disadvantages to family life might have existed in living in one of the houses in the picture?
5. Find and compare a similar picture taken today.
6. How does industrial pollution affect the total environment of the workers? Have there been any changes in industrial pollution since 1900?

Document 8

Historical Description of Homestead

Margaret Byington studied the community of Homestead at the turn of the century. The following three readings are from her book.

From: Homestead, The Household of a Mill Town, Margaret Byington, Arno Press, New York, 1972, pp. 3-5.

Homestead gives at the first a sense of the stress of industry rather than of the old-time household cheer which its name suggests. The banks of the brown Monongahela are preempted on one side by the railroad, on the other by unsightly stretches of mill yards. Gray plumes of smoke hang heavily from the stacks of the long, low mill buildings and noise and effort dominate what once were quiet pasture lands.

On the slope which rises steeply behind the mill are the Carnegie Library and the "mansion" of the mill superintendent, with the larger and more attractive dwellings of the town grouped about two small parks. Here and there the towers of a church rise in relief. The green of the parks modifies the first impression of dreariness by one of prosperity such as is not infrequent in American industrial towns. Turn up a side street, however, and you pass uniform frame houses, closely built and dulled by the smoke; and below, on the flats behind the mill, are cluttered alleys, unsightly and unsanitary, the dwelling place of the Slavic laborers. The trees are dwarfed and the foliage withered by the fumes; the air is gray, and only from the top of the hill above the smoke is the sky clear blue.

There is more to tell, however, than can be gained by first impressions. The Homestead I would interpret in detail is neither the mill nor the town, but is made up of the households of working people, the sturdy Scotch and Welsh and German of the early immigration, the sons of Yankee "buckwheats," and the daughters of Pennsylvania Dutch farmers. Set off against the hill streets, lined with these English-speaking homes, are the courts where all Austria-Hungary seems gathered afresh. Here are lodging houses filled with single men, where the "boarding bosses" keep accounts in Russian, Slovak or Hungarian; alley dwellings where immigrant families are venturing a permanent home in one or two rooms, nearby the Slavic church where their children are christened and receive their first communion.

Homestead is a community of approximately 25,000 people, chiefly mill workers and their families. There is today no labor organization among them. Trade unionism belonged to an earlier chapter in the history of the town. A generation of boys has now grown up and entered the mills without knowing by personal experience what unionism is, or, except by hearsay, what the great strike of 1892 was about.

As late as 1870, two farms, the old McClure and West homesteads, occupied the site of the present mill and town. Scattered along the river on smaller holdings were the simple homes of a farming population. To get to Pittsburgh, seven miles down stream, the people had either to travel the distance by road or cross the river and take the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at Braddock, two miles away. In 1871, the Homestead Bank and Life Insurance Company, which had bought the farms, cut them up into building lots and put them on the market, intending that Homestead should be a residential suburb. With the building of the Pittsburgh, Virginia and Charleston Railroad in 1872, it became possible for people doing business in the city to live in Homestead. In 1874 the first church, St. John's Lutheran, was erected, and the little village began to have a social life of its own. In 1878, when its population was about 600, Bryce and Highbie opened a glass factory and the town's industrial history began. Ten houses, the first to be built for rent, were erected on Fifth Avenue for the married workmen. The land above the works was still an open field where farmers from the nearby country drove their cows to graze.

In 1881, when Klomans built a steel mill on the banks of the river, the step definitely determining the future of Homestead was taken. The Klomans mill was absorbed by the Carnegie Steel Company in 1886, and became in turn one of the most important plants of the United States Steel Corporation on its organization in 1901.

By 1892, 8000 people had gathered at Homestead, though the town still kept many of its village characteristics. The population was composed of a fairly homogeneous group, most of them speaking the same language and mingling freely in school, church and neighborhood life, as well as within the mill. While it is impossible to secure any definite figures as to the make-up of the population in those days, certain facts give us a general picture of the earlier situation. Among the families visited for this study half of the Americans and about half of the foreign born, who came from Great Britain and Western Europe, had been 15 years in Homestead; of 264 Slavs, however, only 31 were living here before the strike of 1892.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What kind of town was Homestead before the steel mill was established?
2. Why did Homestead grow?
3. Describe the ethnic background of the people who came to live and work in Homestead.
4. Discuss how the economic development of a town shapes its cultural and political life.

Topics for Independent Study

1. Compare Homestead to a mill town like Lowell or Peabody. The comparison should include:
    a. types of people
    b. industrial development
    c. size
    d. major economic and social problems.

Document 9

Living Conditions of Homestead Workers in 1900: Table and Dinner Pail

From: Homestead, The Household of a Mill Town,
Margarèt Byington, Arno Press, New York, 1972,
p. 50.

During my sojournings (visits) in Homestead, I found it of little avail to stand knocking at front doors. It was wise to go straight to the back door, which opened into the warm and cheerful kitchen. Here I was sure to find the housekeeper busy preparing for the ever recurring meal, economically her most important task. Not only is food the largest item in the family account, but it is also one which, by thrift and ability, housewives can reduce without lessening the comfort of the family. The "cost of living" is a problem they themselves are studying practically, and many of them took a lively interest in the results of the budget investigation.

In general, the account books revealed a fairly intelligent choice of foods, including a large amount of fruit and green vegetables chosen apparently to meet the need of men who do very hot work. The following bill of fare for four days is fairly typical of the English-speaking households. The head of the family in this instance earned about $3.00 a day.

Monday

Breakfast: Oat-meal and milk, eggs and bacon, bread, butter, jelly, coffee.
Dinner: Soup, bread, fruit.
Supper: Meat, beans, potatoes, fruit, red beets, pickles.

Tuesday

Breakfast: Chocolate, eggs, bread, butter, and jelly.
Dinner: Spinach, potatoes, pickles, warmed over meat, fruit, bread, butter.
Supper: Meat, sweet potatoes, carrots, beans, tomatoes, tea, bread, butter and fruit.

Wednesday

Breakfast: Eggs, corncakes, potatoes, coffee, rhubarb, bread, butter.
Dinner: Soup, bread, butter.
Supper: Lamb stew with dumplings, cucumber, eggplant, beans, corn, coffee, bread and butter, fruit.

Thursday

Breakfast: Eggs, fruit, eggplant, coffee, cakes.
Dinner: Soup, bread and butter, cakes, fruit.
Supper: Fish, potatoes, tomatoes, cucumbers, pie, tea.

Homestead: The Households of a Mill Town

Table 21. Itemized Account of Food Expenditures for One Week by a Thrifty Housekeeper

Saturday	
Milk	$ .08
40 lbs. flour	1.75
Bananas	.15
Grapes	.25
Cabbage	.25
Monday	
Milk	.08
2½ lbs. beef	.30
Steak	.30
Pie	.12
Tuesday	
Milk	.08
Tea	.60
Cheese	.36
2 doz. eggs	.60
Coffee	.25
Candy	.10
Grapes	.10

Table 22. Itemized Account of Food Expenditures for One Week by a Poor Housekeeper

Saturday	
Bread	$.05
Jelly	.10
Coal	.10
Pork (3 lbs.)	.50
½ pk. potatoes	.15
Cabbage	.12
2 lbs. sugar	.11
½ lb. prunes	.05
Can corn	.10
2 loaves bread	.10
½ doz. eggs	.14
Cooking apples	.10
½ lb. butter	.18
1 lb. cheese	.30
Monday	
Lima beans	.10
Tuesday	
2 lbs. boiling beef	.25
Can peas	.10
Can syrup	.10
½ doz. fig cakes	.06
Baking powder	.05
½ pk. potatoes	.15
Bread	.05
Pork chops	.15

Document 9 (cont'd.)

Table 21 (cont'd.)

Wednesday	
Milk	$ .08
Friday	
16 lbs. ham	2.00
Spices	.10
Vanilla	.10
Milk	.08

Table 22 (cont'd.)

Wednesday	
Boiling Beef	$ .15
Barley	.05
½ doz. pickles	.05
Bread	.05
Thursday	
Can molasses	.10
1 doz. rolls	.10
Pudding	.10
2 lbs. sugar	.11
Turnips	:10
Tea ¼ lb	.15
½ doz. doughnuts	.05
Friday	
Pie	.10
Sausage	.10
Can corn	.10
Bread	.05
Jelly	.10

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Does a steel mill family's diet appear nutritionally sound? Point out the areas in which it is deficient.
2. How do your family's menus differ from those of the steel workers?
3. Compare the cost of food in 1900 with today's costs.
4. Are these diets adequate? Explain your answer.
5. How much did a worker have left after he paid for food and shelter? How much do you think an average worker has left today?

Topics for Independent Study

1. In 1892 Homestead was the scene of one of the bloodiest industrial clashes in American history. Develop a hypothesis using only the material presented which might explain why Homestead was the scene of such a bitter labor dispute.

Document 10

The Great Homestead Strike of 1892

From: Homestead, The Household of a Mill Town, Margaret Byington, Arno Press, New York, 1972, pp. 7-11.

This, then, was the situation at the time of the great strike in 1892, which in so many ways influenced the future of Homestead. Within the five years preceding, the Carnegie Steel Company had doubled its capital and had increased the number of employees in Homestead alone to about 4,000, 800 of whom were members of the Amalgamated Association. In 1889, a sliding scale had been introduced by which the rate of pay per ton varied with the market price of steel, under the proviso, however, that if the latter fell below $25 per ton no further reduction in wages was to be made. This agreement did not affect the wages of the day men. In the spring of 1892, the Association voted to renew the contract on the old terms, but the company demanded that the base should expire in January instead of July. After a number of conferences, the company advanced its minimum to $23 and the men reduced theirs to $24, but no concessions at all were made in regard to the date of expiration of the contract. The men felt that in case of disagreement and strike they would be at a far greater disadvantage in the winter when lack of work would be more keenly felt. The company, on the other hand, claimed that as its commercial contracts were frequently made to date from January 1, it was necessary to know at that time what was to be the labor cost for the ensuing year.

Behind these ostensible points of disagreement, however, lay one fundamental issue which, though seldom mentioned, was the keynote of the strike--trade unionism. The Amalgamated Association had been taking to itself more and more power. A small group secured the desirable positions: the permission of the Association had to be obtained before any of its members could be discharged. It stood in the way of lowering individual wage rates, and in general not only obstructed the free hand which the company wanted but interfered with many details of operation.

In 1889, H.C. Frick became chairman of Carnegie Brothers and Company. As he had aroused the antagonism of the labor world through his suppression of the strike in the coke region a few years before, the mill men feared that he would crush the Amalgamated Association. More keen, therefore, than their interest in the points at issue was the belief that if they failed in this strike, the power, if not the very existence of the union, would go. This fear accounts for the pertinacity with which the struggle was fought to the finish and for the deep-seated bitterness which followed the men's defeat.

The strike began June 30. The Association, which had been so recently indifferent to the condition of the day men, now realized, since many of the latter could be put into the skilled positions, that the strike could not be won without their assistance. A call was thereupon issued for them to strike, and the day men, with everything to lose and almost nothing to gain, went out too, and remained faithful supporters to the end. A committee of fifty men, called the advisory board, conducted the strike.

Shortly after the trouble began, the company attempted to bring into the mill some 300 men in charge of Pinkerton detectives. The strikers had feared that the company would do this, since Mr. Frick had called in the Pinkertons at the Connellsville coke strike and bloodshed had followed. The detectives started up the river in boats in the early morning of July 6, and a scout who had been stationed by the strikers came on horseback to warn the town. The story of that morning, as it is retold among the people of Homestead suggests vividly the ride of Paul Revere to rouse other insurgents more than a century earlier. Men and women hurried to the mill, weapons were hunted up and barricades erected. Which side fired the first shot is still a debated question, but a miniature battle followed in which seven persons were killed and others wounded. The Pinkertons finally surrendered, were brought into the town and later were returned to Pittsburgh. There are conflicting stories as to the incidents of the day, stories of bloodshed and cruelty. The one clear fact is that the mob fury latent in most men was wakened by that first shot. It is hard to believe that the sober, self-contained workmen who told me the story fifteen years afterward had been part of the frenzied crowd on the river bank.

As is so often the case, however, that July morning overshadowed in the minds of the public the true character and significance of the determined struggle, which under conservative leadership lasted four or five months. For after the first clash the question became one of endurance, and though the state militia were called in no further disturbance of any magnitude arose. Quietly, stubbornly, the men continued to fight. The contributions which poured in from fellow workmen and the public prevented physical suffering; sympathetic strikers kept up their courage, as

Document 10 (cont'd.)

did the difficulty of the company in finding men to take their places. In the meantime the life of the town went on, changed but little by the industrial conflict. The local papers tell of weddings, of picnics, of church suppers and of the casual comings and goings of the townspeople, while in the mill below was being contested, though in a waiting game, the issue which was to determine in many respects the future of the village.

Since the whole town was in one way or another dependent on the mill, the interest even of small merchants and others not directly concerned was of course intense. While some of the people appreciated the weak points in the claims of the Amalgamated Association, the general feeling was so strong that no one would express an opinion unfavorable to the union. The mild tone of the local papers leads one to believe that they did not reflect the state of the public mind, with its resentment at the presence of the soldiers and its alternations of hope and despair as to the outcome of the summer. About the middle of October, the men realized that they had failed, and went back--those who could get their old jobs--at a wage determined by the company. A few were refused positions, and many others who found that their places in the mill had been taken by the strike breakers had either to take inferior positions or go elsewhere. The resulting bitterness made itself felt for years in the relation of the men to the Carnegie Company. When you talk with a skilled and intelligent man who is still refused work in any mill of the United States Steel Corporation because of the part he played in that strike, over fifteen years ago, you realize why the passions it aroused have not died out. For most of the town, life resumed its normal course. Newspapers in New Orleans and St. Paul and San Francisco ceased to discuss Homestead; it dropped back to its place among industrial towns, facing for good or ill the problems which this changed labor situation created.

Looking back from the vantage ground of the present, one is impressed by the vital character of the questions at issue. The particular change in the wage scale which was ostensibly the point under dispute, was, comparatively speaking, a small matter; the significant fact is that every cut since has been accepted by the men without hope and with no effective protest.

The union ceased to exist, and since that date those common factors in employment which circumscribe a man's life--his hours, his wages, and the conditions under which he works--and which in turn vitally affect the well-being of his family; these he was to have less and less share in determining.

Document 10 (cont'd.)

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Was the strike inevitable or could it have been avoided? Explain.
2. Could a Homestead strike occur today?
3. If you had lived in Homestead at the time of the strike, what part would you have played?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Compare this account of the Great Strike with a contemporary source, such as that found in *Labor on the March* by Joseph L. Gardner and explain the differences.
2. What lengthy "strike battles" have occurred in the last five years?
3. Compare the Homestead strike with the following general strikes:
    a. 1877--St. Louis, Pittsburgh, Chicago, and Denver
    b. 1892--New Orleans
    c. 1894--Chicago
    d. 1913--Philadelphia
    e. 1919--Seattle
    f. 1934--San Francisco and Minneapolis

   Try to answer the following:

   - What were the original demands?
   - Who organized the strike?
   - Did the demands change in the course of the strike?
   - How long did the strike last?
   - What were the terms of the settlement?

Document 11

Historical Account of the Birth of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

From: The Womens' Garment Workers, Louis Levine, Arno Press
New York, 1969, pp. 99-102.

Regardless of the industrial depression of 1893-1896, the women's clothing industry experienced a remarkable growth during the decade of 1890-1900. Every important item in the balance sheet of the industry more than doubled. The number of establishments increased from 1224 to 2701, or 120 percent. The capital invested grew from $21,260,000 to $48,432,000 or 127 percent. The value of the product increased from $68,164,000 to $159,340,000 or 133 percent. The number of wage earners in the industry increased from 39,149 to 83,739, or about 114 percent. New branches of the industry were developed, such as the making of shirtwaists and the manufacture of women's underwear. Thirty-two states had women's clothing factories in 1900 as against 23 states in 1890.

The growth of the industry was accompanied by important internal changes. In the newer branches such as the manufacture of waists and underwear, a more detailed division of labor was introduced. In the cloak and suit trade the contracting system lost ground and there came into the field a large number of small manufacturers. The increase in the number of women workers for the entire industry was greater than the increase in the number of men. But the women were added in the factories for shirtwaists and underwear, while in the cloak and suit trade men took the places of women to a large extent. The composition of the workers in the industry also became more varied and complex. Large numbers of Italian immigrants came into the industry. In New York City the Italian workers in 1900 formed about 15 percent of all the workers in the industry. In Chicago, Cleveland, and other large cities other immigrant groups such as Bohemians, Poles, Russians, and Syrians were drawn into the industry.

The rapid development of the various branches of the industry brought to the surface the idea of an international union of all women's garment workers. The initiative in forming such a union came from the organized cloakmakers. They had felt the need of a wider organization as early as 1890. The events of 1894 stimulated the idea of such an organization in several ways. In Chicago and New York the unions tried to enforce boycotts against a number of firms and needed each other's help. During the general strike of 1894 in New York City several manufacturers attempted to open shops in Baltimore and Philadelphia. The New York union appealed to the cloakmakers' organizations of those cities for solidarity. The need of financial assistance in strikes was also felt.

With the revival of unionism in the cloak trade in the fall of 1897 the idea of a national cloakmakers' organization was once more put forward.

In the two years which followed, the need of combining the separate cloakmakers' unions made itself felt more keenly than before. The Chicago union felt that it lost its strike against Beifeld & Company partly because it did not obtain sufficient financial support from New York. The United Brotherhood found that manufacturers defeated strikes by having their work made outside the city. On several occasions the workers of one city were imported into another to break a strike. The experience of 1897-1899, when the various local unions, after a brief period of growth, began to disintegrate again, suggested once more the idea that a national body might help to make the local organizations more stable.

But during these two years it was also seen that the workers in the cloak and suit trade had many points of contact with the workers in other branches of the industry. During the ladies' tailors' strike in 1898, cloakmakers and finishers took the place of the strikers. Vice versa, tailors were used to break a number of strikes in cloak and suit shops. In shops where cloaks and suits were manufactured, skirts were also made. The idea thus suggested itself that it was necessary to have a larger organization which would include other women's garment workers besides cloak and suitmakers.

While the economic forces were making for unification, the political causes of division were also being eliminated.

Thinking the situation over, those who had the cause of unionism in the women's garment trades at heart decided that the time had come for a new effort on a broader basis. On March 11, 1900, the United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers' Union No. 1 of New York and Vicinity published a statement in the labor press which in part read as follows: "The United Brotherhood . . . has come to the conclusion that in order to control our trade, to obtain higher wages and shorter hours, and to raise our members to a higher moral level, in short in order to improve our condition, we must have not only local unions, but also a well-organized national union for all America. We have many betterments to suggest such as the use of the union label on work done in union shops.

"In order to create a national organization, it is necessary to hold a convention of all the workers in the trade, namely of those working at cloaks and suits, or at custom ladies' tailoring, or in skirt shops. With this end in view, we hereby call a convention to be held in New York City on June 3, 1900. We invite all workers in the trade in the United States and Canada, those who have unions and those who have none, to join us in our effort."

On June 3, 1900, eleven delegates representing seven unions in four cities, met at the Labor Lyceum, 64 East Fourth Street, New York City. There were two delegates from the United Brotherhood of Cloak Makers, two from the Skirt Makers' Union No. 1 of Greater New York, two from the Cloak Makers' Protective Union of Philadelphia, two from the Cloak Pressers' Union of Philadelphia, one from the Cloak Makers' Union of Baltimore, one from the Cloak Makers' Union of Brownsville, and one from the Cloak Makers' Union of Newark, New Jersey. All together, they represented about 2000 organized members. Joseph Barondess and Herman Robinson, organizer of the American Federation of Labor, were invited to open the conference. The delegates voted in favor of organizing a national union of all the workers in the women's garment industry and adopted the name of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union. A label was adopted, and officers were elected. Out of the eleven delegates present, Herman Grossman was elected president and Bernard Braff general secretary-treasurer. Adolph Schweiger, S. Salat, Philip Schwartz of Philadelphia, I. Silberman of Baltimore, and A. Leibovits of Newark were elected members of the General Executive Board, of which the president and secretary were members ex-officio. Each local union represented at the conference was assessed $10 to create a fund with which to begin the work of organization. The income of the International was to be derived from a per capita tax of 1 cent per member per week.

After a one-day session, the delegates to the conference were the guests at "a banquet arranged in their honor" by New York cloakmakers, and the "convention was adjourned amidst great enthusiasm." On June 23, 1900, the American Federation of Labor issued a charter to the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What significant changes took place in the garment industry in the decade from 1890-1900?
2. How did the changes in the garment industry facilitate the growth of an international union?
3. Why did union members in the various cities decide that it was time to organize a broader union?
4. As an employer, would you be in favor of or against the formation of a national union?
5. How does the formation of a national union add stability to an industry?
6. Was the national union created democratically?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Why were national unions formed after the Civil War?
2. Why was it easier to organize national unions among skilled workers than unskilled?
3. How did the technological changes after the Civil War aid the growth of national unions?
4. Why weren't powerful national unions formed after the Civil War in the steel or oil industries?
5. Write a one-page pamphlet in support of the formation of a national union. This pamphlet should be directed towards members of the local union who are the skilled craftsmen in the garment industry.

Document 12

How Famous Labor Leader, Sidney Hillman Joined the Union

From: Sidney Hillman, Statesman of American Labor, Matthew Josephson, Doubleday, Garden City, 1952.

Hillman, testifying on conditions in this great factory, said:

> I especially recall the feeling of fear, besides the wages. I believe I started in with $7.00 a week, and during three years I worked up to $11 or $12; but what I consider more important is . . . the constant fear of the employees of being discharged without cause at all. There really was no cause at all sometimes. The floor boss, as we called him, did not like a particular girl or man, and out they went. I remember especially the panic of 1907 when the employees were in constant fear of "Who will be thrown out?" I remember, we tried all of us to get into the good graces of the floor boss . . . I remember when I made the first complaint I packed up my tools and went out.

Hillman had flared up in anger and quit his job that time, as he related, but in a few weeks, having found nothing else to do, he was back again in the same shop.

Others were less fortunate. There was, for instance, a girl worker, a Miss Bessie Abramowitz, employed at first by another large firm in Chicago, who sewed buttons from dawn to dark at 2½ cents per coat. Sometimes she would take her work home at night when she had not finished her quota. But when her foreman deliberately scratched out the figures on her worksheet and lowered her piece rate by a fraction of a penny, she had the spirit to form a committee of girls and protest to the management. She was fired at once, and found herself blacklisted. All the other clothing shops that were members of the Chicago Wholesale Clothiers' Association, by agreement, refused her employment. She was forced to leave town and seek other, lower-paid work. After many months she returned to Chicago and, by concealing her real name, was able to obtain a job as a button sewer at Hart, Schaffner and Marx. But the pace was even swifter here; the atmosphere was depressing; the foremen here, too, were always finding pretexts for grasping at minute advantages in labor costs, which meant large profits to management when carried out in terms of many thousands of units.

One evening in 1910, after he had been working at his job for about half a year, Hillman quietly slipped off to attend a small union-organizing meeting for the clothing workers of Chicago, announced by a leaflet stealthily circulated in his factory. There was, after all, some sort of union in the field, though weak and ill-led even by the standards of forty years ago. It was called the United Garment Workers of America and was affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. After having met with heavy reverses in Chicago in 1904, its business agents were cautiously at work again to fill the ranks of its four small locals there.

The labor movement as a whole was then experiencing a vigorous upswing, marked by rapid membership increase in the still youthful AFL. In New York, for example, the shirtwaist girls had begun a spectacular fight and won a partial victory for their union by 1910. News of this began to stir the Chicago men's clothing workers as well as those in New York. But on the whole the foreign-born garment workers were considered poor timber for trade unions in those days. The UGWA, the small union in their field, was interested mainly in organizing the cutters and other skilled craftsmen, in accordance with the craft-union principles of President Samuel Gompers of the AFL. That was how the apprentice cutter Sidney Hillman one day came upon a union leaflet in his shop.

It was not as simple to join a union then as it is now. To be seen at a meeting with union folks meant almost certainly the loss of one's job. The employers in the Wholesale Clothiers' Association were themselves closely organized in order to deny the benefits of similar organization to their employees. Undercover agents spied on the activities of the unionists and denounced those who came under suspicion, their names, as earlier noted being entered in a blacklist.

When Sidney Hillman first came to a small meeting with union organizers at Hod Carriers' Hall, Chicago, he sat in a corner of the room, looking at no one, averting his face. and listened. The others who glanced covertly at the young stranger with curly hair wondered if he was a "stool" for the bosses. If so, they would know it soon, because they would surely be fired at the end of that week.

Around that time a young cutter named Frank Rosenblum, employed by the same firm, was spotted at a union meeting and the next day was ordered to take his tools and go to the front office. There Mr. Harry Hart greeted him with the question: "Well, Rosenblum, what do you think of unions?"

Rosenblum answered with much spirit: "Well, if I told you I'm in favor of them you would only fire me, and if I say I'm against them you won't believe me, so I'm not saying anything."

The employer laughed and sent him back to work with a warning. In those days the manufacturers played the game of tolerating, to some extent, the unionization of the small group of skilled cutters, less than 10 per cent of their employees, "in order to prevent the great mass of [unskilled or semi-skilled] tailors from organizing themselves."

At that first meeting Sidney Hillman gained from the others present a more precise notion of what had been going on in his industry. The cutters, "aristocrats" among the workers, organized as local No. 61, UGWA, had actually gained recognition in Chicago in 1901; but after the defeat of their strike in 1904, their condition had deteriorated again. Yet the past five or six years had been a period of great prosperity, of rapid growth in the ready-made-clothing industry. By 1910, "the new people," as well as "those who still remembered the better times of 1901-04," were restless and bitter toward their employers.

Nothing hardens the resentment of workers more than the feeling that improvements gained by great effort on their part are being taken from them. And besides, there was the awareness that the standards of other sections of the labor army in America were rising noticeably, as shown in a remark of Sidney Hillman's made at about this same period. While the girls in his clothing factory worked ten hours every day, he said, "around the corner there were the printers, big strong healthy men, working only eight hours a day."

Week by week the grievances of the workers accumulated, especially at the efficient, harshly disciplined shops of Hart, Schaffner and Marx. Many of their grievances were of a petty character, as Joseph Schaffner, the head of the firm, rightly said. The worst of it was that the workers, as he himself admitted, felt that there was no one to hear them; the foreman's word against theirs was always enough. In short, they had no rights.

Hillman's own oral testimony in 1914 touches upon the deepest grievance of the workers that they were "not treated . . . like human beings." They toiled for a huge, coldly impersonal corporate machine. "As a matter of fact," Hillman said in a revealing statement, "the working people do not know who is the real head of the firm, only the people directly above them."

Document 12 (cont'd.)

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. According to the author, why did Sidney Hillman feel American workers were frightened?
2. Why was it an act of courage to join the union during this era?
3. What changes had occurred to make 1910 a good year for organizing workers in the clothing industry?
4. Why did the "working people" not know the real head of the firm? Do such conditions prevail today in major industries?
5. Why were the workers dissatisfied with conditions at the Hart, Schaffner and Marx factory?

Document 13

John L. Lewis Creates Industrial Unionism

At the 1935 AFL convention John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers, supported a minority report calling for industrial unionism. Traditionally the AFL had only accepted skilled workers as members. The following is Lewis' speech:

From: Men and Coal, MacAlister Coleman, Farrar & Rinehart, Inc. New York, 1943, pp. 157-163.

The organization I represent has an interest in this question. Our people work in a great base industry, basic in its service to the American people and the economic and commercial processes of the nation. They struggle against great odds and against great influence, and the intensity of their struggle and the weight of their burden is greatly increased by reason of the fact that the American Federation of Labor has not organized the steel industry and a few other industries similarly situated.

We are anxious to have collective bargaining established in the steel industry, and our interest in that is, to that degree, selfish because our people know that if the workers were organized in the steel industry and collective bargaining there was an actuality, it would remove the incentives of the great captains of the steel industry to destroy and punish and harass our people who work in the captive coal mines throughout the country, owned by the steel industry.

As I talk to you now, 21,000 of our members are on strike in the State of Alabama--not on strike, they are locked out, and the operators will not accept wage increases granted in the Appalachian Joint Wage Conference, which they are obligated to do. They are locked out because the Tennessee Coal & Iron Company, owned by the United States Steel Corporation, the Schloss-Sheffield Steel Company and others there are encouraging the poor, defenseless commercial coal operators of Alabama to fight the United Mine Workers of America and to refuse to apply these wage agreements. And the Youngstown Sheet and Tube in Western Pennsylvania has our people locked out. The steel industry is anxious to eliminate the United Mine Workers of America from its captive mines, so that they will constantly have that buffer between the coal-mining industry and collective bargaining in the steel industry.

I know that to be true, because I have conferred with the officers of the United States Steel Corporation in relation to our contracts at their captive properties, and they frankly admit that they oppose making collective bargaining contracts in the coal-mining industry because they do not want that power to follow and annoy them in the iron and steel industry--and they have no more fear of the iron and steel workers annoying them than they have that the League of Nations will come over and impose a mandate of sanctions upon them.

He detailed the fumbling of the Federation with the problem of organizing steel, accused the A.F. of L. of "tinkering" in rubber, called out that the labor movement was being "taunted, taunted, taunted" with its inadequacy and weakness.

"Whereas today," said Lewis, "the craft unions of this country may be able to stand upon their own feet and like mighty oaks stand before the gale, defy the lightning, yet the day may come when this changed scheme of things--and things are changing rapidly now--the day may come when these organizations will not be able to withstand the lightning and the gale. Now, prepare yourselves by making a contribution to your less fortunate brethren, heed this cry from Macedonia that comes from the hearts of men."

For their part the craft unionists stirred uneasily. The Macedonian cry fell on the deaf ears of Matthew Woll, John P. Frey, the tired old man who edited the iron moulders' journal and liked to be called "the Federation's brains," William L. Hutcheson, 61-year-old president of the United Brotherhood of Carpenters, whose chief claim to fame was the setting up of a luxurious home for his retired stalwarts.

To these well-padded men whose vested interests lay in sheltering the skilled, the thought of taking in the hordes of factory workers in the great unorganized plants was as repugnant as would be the suggestion that the Union League receive the Young Communist League into its staid halls. For years the elders of the Federation had given the entire American labor movement its bourgeois coloration so puzzling to foreign laborites. Some of its craft unions had gone so far in labor-management "collaboration" as to enter into collusive contracts with the bosses for maintaining high prices to the consumers. Once the contract covering the hours and wages of the skilled men was signed the rank and file of the unskilled could shift for themselves. High initiation fees would serve to keep out the unwashed masses. When an A.F. of L. union stepped into a left-wing strike at Passaic, New Jersey and it was a question of receiving some 8,000 new members, most of them foreign-born, the head of the craft organization said to me: "Why, we couldn't take them in. We haven't got the secretarial staff to handle their applications."

Next Lewis handed in his resignation from the Executive Council of the A.F. of L. He said scornfully of the hierarchs: "They flit from flower to flower while they sip the golden honey of industry." And, "I have neither the time nor the inclination to follow the peregrinations of the Council from the Jersey beaches in the summer to the golden sands of Florida in the winter."

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Why was there a struggle between the older leadership of the A.F. of L. and John L. Lewis?
2. Why did the A.F. of L. not organize such basic industries as steel, rubber and automobiles?
3. "I would be with Lewis in this fight for industrial unionism even if I did not like him; in fact, even if I did not trust him. His mere program is enough for me." What was the program referred to?

Topics for Independent Study

1. What part did the following men play in the creation of the C.I.O.: Sidney Hillman, David Dubinsky, John Brophy, William Green?
2. Why was the C.I.O. successful in organizing unions in rubber, oil, steel and automobiles?
3. How did the sit-down strikes aid the unionization of the automobile industry?
4. Why did employers in heavy industry not want their employees unionized?
5. How did the NIRA and later the Wagner Act help the growth of industrial unions?

Document 13 (cont'd.)

6. Why did the National Labor Relations Board come into existence?

7. Industrial union, like other social organizations, live or die partly as a result of their leadership. Report on the part played within their unions by the following leaders:

    Walter Reuther -- United Automobile Workers
    Philip Murray -- United Steel Workers of America
    John L. Lewis -- United Mine Workers
    David Dubinsky -- International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union

8. Assume that you are all workers within one large factory which produces the Super DeLuxe Automobile. Although you are all blue collar workers, you perform different jobs at the following pay scales:

Position	Wage Scale
Welder	$2.25 per hour
Assembler	$1.75 per hour
Maintenance	$1.25 per hour
Tool and Die Maker	$4.00 per hour
Carpenter	$2.50 per hour
Foreman	$10,000 annually

Discuss how you would react to the following situations:

a. An organizer from the U.A.W. starts talking to you at the factory gate, telling you that if you sign the enrollment cards, the union will become the bargaining agent.

Document 13 (cont'd.)

b. The tool and die makers decide that before they join a union, they want a guarantee that their special interests will be protected.

c. The carpenters remind everyone that they are already members of the Carpenters' Union, an affiliate of the A.F. of L. and, therefore, they don't want to be members of a union with unskilled workers because such a union would not fight for their special interests.

d. The foreman announces that he doesn't need a union and would not join any union because he is part of management and not a blue collar worker.

9. Discuss the topic: Has the Formation of Industrial Unions of the 1930's Improved the Life of Their Members?

Document 14

A Labor Song of the 1930's

Photographs and popular songs may be used as historical documents. The following is a labor song from the Depression.

In nineteen hundred an' thirty-two
  We wus sometimes sad an' blue
Travelin' roun' from place to place
  Tryin' to find some work to do
If we's successful to find a job,
  De wages wus so small,
We could scarcely live in de summertime--
  Almost starved in de fall.

Befo' we got our union back.
  It's very sad to say,
Ole blue shirts an' overalls
  Wus de topic of de day.
Dey wus so full of patches
  An' so badly to'n
Our wives had to sew for 'bout a hour
  Befo' dey could be wo'n.

Now when our union men walks out,
  Got de good clothes on deir backs,
Crepe de chine and fine silk shirts,
  Bran' new Miller block hats;
Fine silk socks an' Florsheim shoes,
  Dey're glitterin' against de sun
Got dollars in deir pockets, smokin' good cigars--
  Boys, des what de union done.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What are the union benefits described in the song?
2. What reason does this song give for joining a union?
3. Who do you think would sing a song like this?
4. What other labor songs were written during this period?

Document 15

A Labor Song of the '70's

"UNION LABEL"

As sung and recorded by our own I.L.G. members
for our first TV appearance, November 11, 1975....

Words:
PAULA GREEN

Music:
MALCOLM DODDS

Copyright information removed by ERIC.

© 1975 International Ladies Garment Workers Union

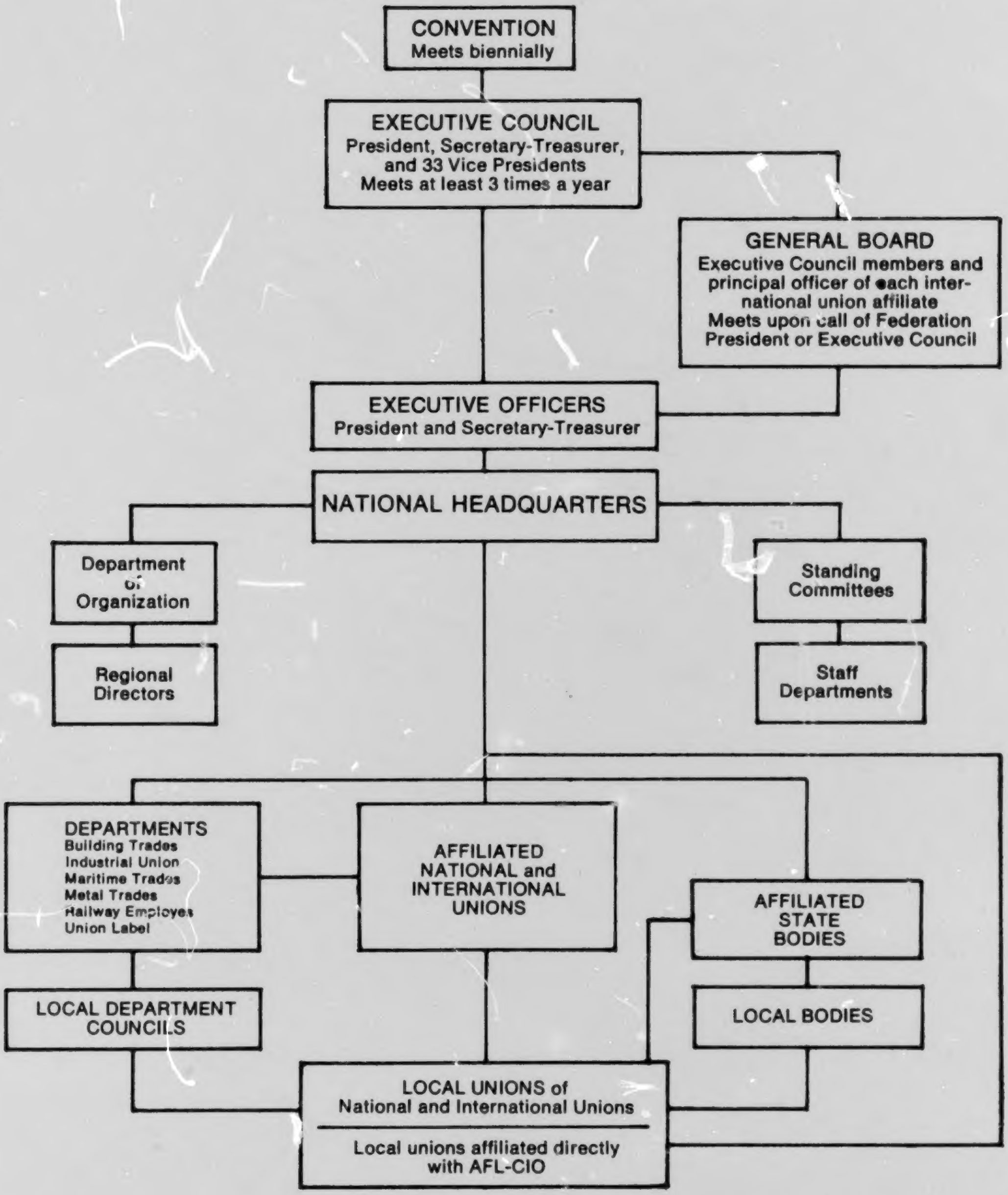
Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. You may have heard the Union Label song of the ILGWU It is designed to communicate a message to the American public. Look closely at the lyrics and see what it says about
    a. the union's role in wages
    b. buying union-made clothing
2. Tell why you think this song is effective or is not effective in reaching people.

Document 16

Structure of the AFL-CIO

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, p. 60.



Structure of the AFL-CIO

CONVENTION
Meets biennially
EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
President, Secretary-Treasurer, and 33 Vice Presidents
Meets at least 3 times a year
GENERAL BOARD
Executive Council members and principal officer of each international union affiliate
Meets upon call of Federation President or Executive Council
EXECUTIVE OFFICERS
President and Secretary-Treasurer
NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
Department of Organization
Regional Directors
Standing Committees
Staff Departments
DEPARTMENTS
Building Trades
Industrial Union
Maritime Trades
Metal Trades
Railway Employes
Union Label
AFFILIATED NATIONAL and INTERNATIONAL UNIONS
AFFILIATED STATE BODIES
LOCAL DEPARTMENT COUNCILS
LOCAL BODIES
LOCAL UNIONS of National and International Unions
Local unions affiliated directly with AFL-CIO

Section II

Documents 16-39

Document 17

The Member Unions of the AFL-CIO

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the United States, 1969, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. U.S. Government Priority Press, 1970, p. 65.

The 14 million members of the AFL-CIO and the 5 million members of independent unions are organized into 181 national and international unions, of which 130 are AFL-CIO affiliated. The ten largest unions, each with over 400,000 members, account for 43% of the total AFL-CIO membership.

The national unions, which dominate organized labor, have a constitution which establishes their jurisdiction and purpose, insuring that the rank and file control the leadership through a democratically organized elective process. Indeed, the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin) requires that every labor organization adopt a constitution and place it on file with the Secretary of Labor. The constitution generally specifies:

1. Union jurisdiction
2. Unions purpose
3. Eligibility and membership
4. Supreme governing body
5. Election of officers, tenure and salaries
6. Finances
7. Collective bargaining procedures
8. Strike authorization procedure

Each national union has a defined jurisdiction within which it functions. Generally, if the jurisdiction is job-defined, as with the Carpenters, where its job jurisdiction is "all branches of the carpenters and joiners trade," which is enumerated as "carpenters, and joiners, railroad carpenters, bench hands, stairbuilders, millwrights...", then it is a craft union. If the jurisdiction is conceived industrially, as is that of the United Mine Workers as "all workers employed in an industrial union", then it is an industrial union. The classic type of industrial unions are the mass production unions in coal, steel, automobiles and rubber. However, in reality, most national unions have components of both, although traditionally they identify with one or the other. It also must be remembered that these categories, craft and industrial, do not really apply to newer white collar unions, formed among civil service workers.

The following table obtained from data compiled in 1968 still gives a reasonably accurate indication of union membership:

National and International Unions
Reporting 100,000 or More Members, 1968

Union	Members	Union	Members
Teamsters (Ind.)	1,755,025	Letter Carriers	210,000
Automobile Workers (Ind.)	1,472,696	Rubber	203,000
Steelworkers	1,120,000	Painters	200,000
Machinists	903,015	Textile Workers	183,000
Electrical (IBEW)	897,114	Pulp, Sulphite	182,795
Carpenters	793,000	Retail, Wholesale	175,000
Laborers	553,102	Oil, Chemical	173,185
Retail Clerks	552,000	Ironworkers	167,928
Meat Cutters	500,000	Electrical (UE) (Ind.)	167,000
Hotel and Restaurant	459,053	Postal Clerks	166,000
Garment, Ladies'	455,022	Teachers	165,000
Service Employees	389,000	Bricklayers	160,000
Clothing Workers	386,000	Papermakers	144,682
State, County	364,486	Sheet Metal	140,000
Communications Workers	357,000	Boilermakers	140,000
Engineers, Operating	350,000	Transit Union	134,000
Electrical (IUE)	324,352	Fire Fighters	132,634
Plumbers	297,023	Printing Pressmen	126,000
Government (AFGE)	294,725	Maintenance of Way	125,000
Musicians	283,155	Typographical Union	123,310
Railway Clerks	280,000	Railway Carmen	117,386
District 50, Allied and Technical (Ind.)	232,000	Chemical (Ind.)	103,780
		Mine (Ind.)	
		Railroad Trainmen	

Document 18

United Auto Workers Staff Departments

From: *Report of the President, Part 3*, Walter P. Reuther, 19th United Auto Workers Constitutional Convention, March 20-27, 1964, pp. 3-4.

An indication of the growing administrative complexity of national unions can be seen in this chart of the UAW Staff Departments

UAW Staff Departments

Collective Bargaining Departments

Aerospace
Agricultural Implement
Alcoa
American Motors
Bendix
Borg-Warner
Briggs Beauty Ware
Budd
Champion Spark Plug
Chrysler
Continental Motors
Dana
Die Casting
Doehler-Jarvis
Eaton
Electric Storage Battery
Eltra
Ford
Foundry
General Motors
Houdaille Industries
Kelsey Hayes
Mack Truck
McQuay-Norris
Spring Council
Studebaker
Walker

Technical and Administrative Departments

Citizenship
Community Relations
Community Services
Education
Fair Practices and Anti-Discrimination
International Affairs
Leadership Studies
Legal
Legislative
Manpower Development and Training
Organizing
Radio
Recreation
Research
Social Security
Special Projects
Time Study and Engineering

Departments for Special Interest Groups

Office and Professional
Older and Retired Workers
Skilled Trades
Technical
Veterans
Women's Auxiliaries
Women

This chart, which is not too dissimilar from other industrial unions, indicates the concerns of a large union. The most important divisions are the collective bargaining departments which formulate and negotiate the individual agreements.

The technical and administrative departments handle areas of special concern. These departments deal with everything from the local, state and national politics to recreation for union members. This scope of the technical and administrative departments demonstrates vividly that modern trade unions are important social institutions whose influence goes far beyond the shop and into almost every aspect of the life of a union member.

Document 19

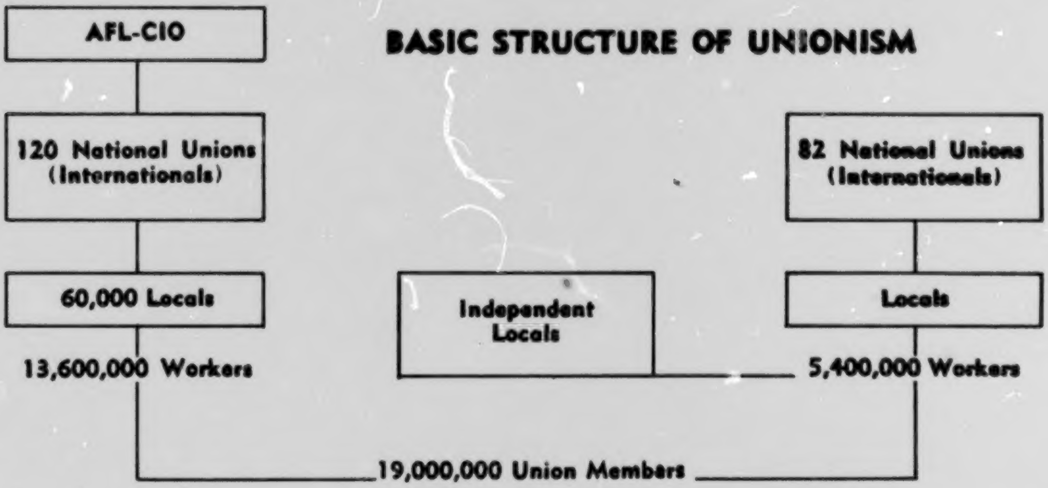
Chart: The Basic Structure of Unionism

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, p. 60

National unions are composed of many locals to which a charter is given which specifies all rights and obligations of the affiliation. The local and its members must pay dues to the national union and abide by the national union's constitution, resolutions and policies. In return the national union performs the following functions:

1. Organizes new locals and helps in negotiating trade agreements;
2. Provides leadership and funds during strikes;
3. Resolves jurisdictional disputes between different unions over representation or working rights;
4. Provides support to member locals when they become involved in costly legal disputes;
5. Offers health-accident insurance, life insurance and other benefits.

Graphically this can be illustrated as follows:



BASIC STRUCTURE OF UNIONISM
AFL-CIO
120 National Unions (Internationals)
60,000 Locals
13,600,000 Workers
Independent Locals
82 National Unions (Internationals)
Locals
5,400,000 Workers
19,000,000 Union Members

The whole structure of organized labor rests upon the locals which provide the tangible, visible connection between the union and the work bench. On the whole, the members judge their union by what occurs in the local or its substructure, the shop or factory. Locals vary in membership and location. Many locals are composed of employees of only one corporation; some consist of employees of many corporations. Some locals have a substantial number of employees, while many are small. Whatever its size or structure, it is the local which the rank and file call "their union".

The structure of the local, like that of the national union, is formalized by a constitution which establishes its:

1. Jurisdiction
2. Membership qualifications
3. Election of officers
4. Policy making bodies
5. Negotiating committee, if necessary.

If the local is part of a national union which does not bargain collectively for its members, then the local will probably have a more complicated constitution, as well as administrative machinery. Also, the elected leadership of the local will have significantly greater influence without any interference from the national union. Usually, power in a national union or local union will be associated with the body that carries on collective bargaining with the employer.

All unions are run by elected officials whose elections follow the procedure set out in the union's constitution. The constitution clearly defines the power of the officers, as well as their tenure and salary.

The election of union officials is probably the most important single act a union member performs, and its performance is the continued link between leadership and the rank and file. A union election, therefore, is important not only because it is "the moment of truth" but, more significantly, because the process unites leader and member.

It also provides for a chance to review the union direction, policies and "what has it done for me." Unions are also judged "not only by whether it performs its functions effectively but also by whether it performs them democratically."

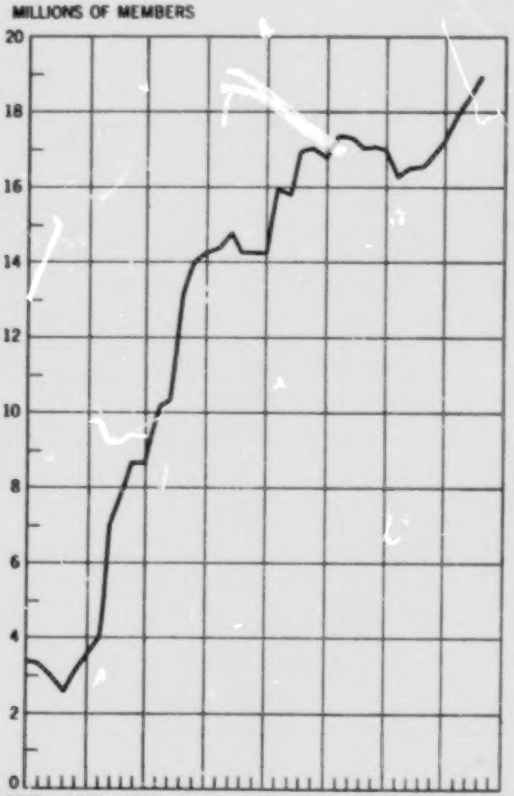
Document 20

Charts of Union Membership

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, pp. 66-67

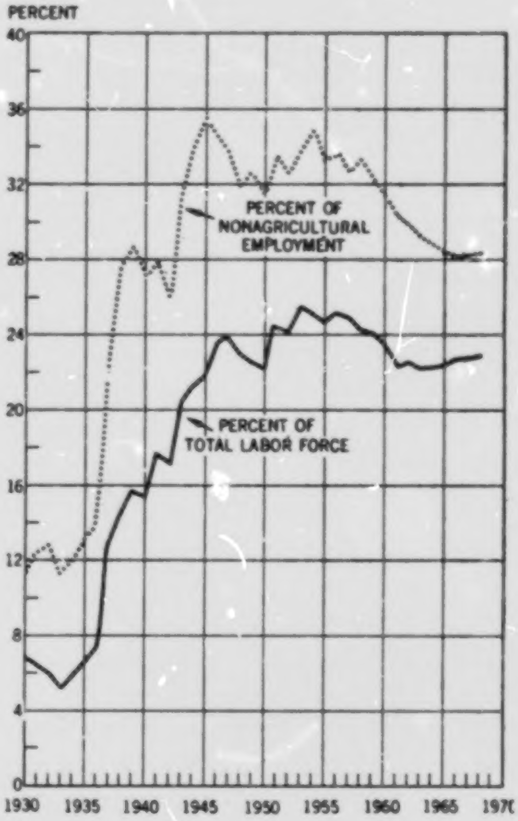
Charts of Union Membership

CHART 1. MEMBERSHIP 1/ OF NATIONAL 1/ AND INTERNATIONAL UNIONS, 1930-68



1/ EXCLUDES CANADIAN MEMBERSHIP BUT INCLUDES MEMBERS IN OTHER AREAS OUTSIDE THE UNITED STATES. MEMBERS OF AFL-CIO DIRECTLY AFFILIATED LOCAL UNIONS ARE ALSO INCLUDED. FOR THE YEARS 1948-52, MIDPOINTS OF MEMBERSHIP ESTIMATES, WHICH WERE EXPRESSED AS RANGES, WERE USED.

CHART 2. MEMBERSHIP 1/ AS A PERCENT OF TOTAL LABOR FORCE AND OF EMPLOYEES IN NONAGRICULTURAL ESTABLISHMENTS, 1930-68



Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Compare what the two graphs tell us about union membership?
2. Generally, why do you think there has been an almost steady increase in total number of union members?
3. From 1955 into the 1960's there was a dip in the percentage of membership as a comparison with total work force. Why do you think this is so?
4. If you were to extend this graph up to the present day, what do you think it might indicate?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Which industries that have grown rapidly since 1955 have very few union members?
2. Which occupations have shown the greatest increase in union membership?
3. Why have unions been relatively unsuccessful in organizing people who work in the insurance, stock market and banking fields?
4. Why have the unions been particularly successful in organizing heavy industry?
5. "Not since the surge of unionism in the 1930's has the labor movement experienced anything comparable to the current trade union breakthrough among public employees," David Perlman wrote in his booklet, The Surge of Public Employee Unionism, published by the AFL-CIO. What evidence could be used to support this statement?

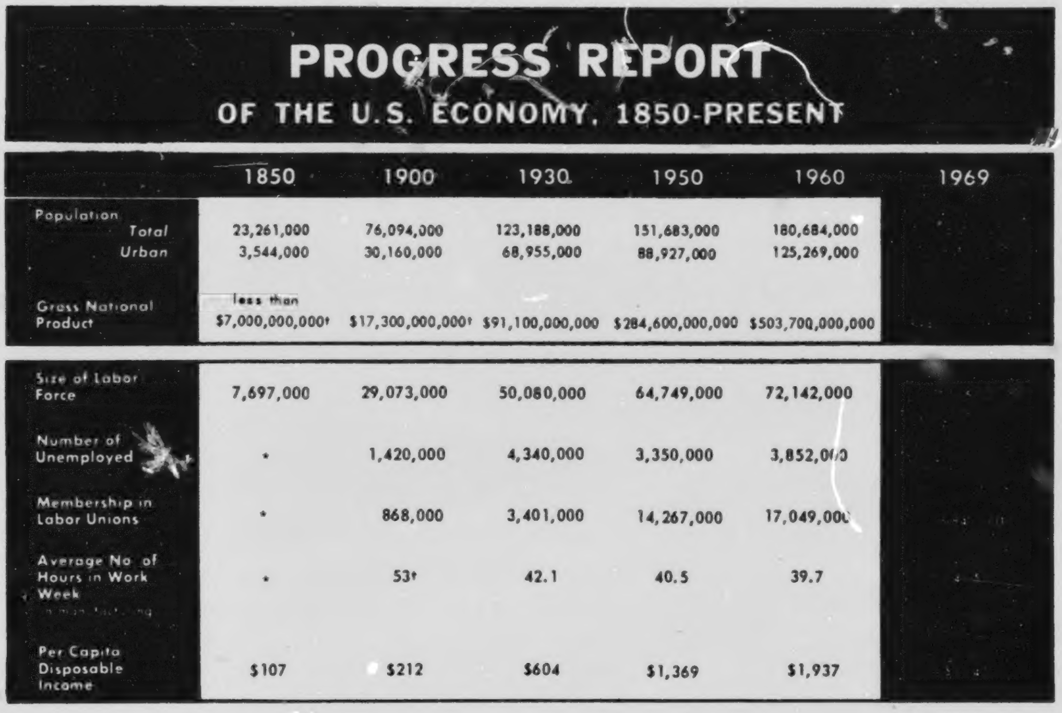
Document 20 (cont'd.)

6. This chart of union membership includes figures from 1930-1968. Bring the charts up-to-date so that it would include the years 1968 to the present.

Document 21

Statistics on Growth of United States Economy

From: Inside Battle Creek, Battle Creek Board of Education, Battle Creek, 1969, p. 6.



PROGRESS REPORT
OF THE U.S. ECONOMY, 1850-PRESENT

	1850	1900	1930	1950	1960	1969
Population Total	23,261,000	76,094,000	123,188,000	151,683,000	180,684,000	
Population Urban	3,544,000	30,160,000	68,955,000	88,927,000	125,269,000	
Gross National Product	less than $7,000,000,000†	$17,300,000,000†	$91,100,000,000	$284,600,000,000	$503,700,000,000	
Size of Labor Force	7,697,000	29,073,000	50,080,000	64,749,000	72,142,000	
Number of Unemployed	*	1,420,000	4,340,000	3,350,000	3,852,000	
Membership in Labor Unions	*	868,000	3,401,000	14,267,000	17,049,000	
Average No. of Hours in Work Week in manufacturing	*	53†	42.1	40.5	39.7	
Per Capita Disposable Income	$107	$212	$604	$1,369	$1,937	

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Compare the size of unions today to their size 110 years ago.
2. Has the growth of union membership generally kept pace with the growth of population in the United States?
3. How are these statistics a "progress report" on the United States economy?

4. Which statistics would "prove" that the American worker has a better life today than he had 100 years ago?
5. In the period from 1900 to 1969 has union growth kept pace with population growth? Explain your answer.
6. Use the statistics in the Progress Report to prove or disprove the following hypotheses about the American economy in the 110 year period.
   - a. During the 110 years America became a mighty industrial power.
   - b. As America became wealthier as a nation, so did its citizens.
   - c. After 1930, the union movement grew rapidly in the United States, especially among the industrial workers.
   - d. The richer Americans became, the less they had to work.
7. Which books or periodicals would be necessary for a more complete picture of the economy, especially labor's role in it, than can be obtained from the Progress Report? Which books or publications do you think would be most useful:
   - Economics: an economics textbook by Paul Samuelson
   - Justice: a newspaper published by the International Ladies Garment Workers' Union
   - Business Week: a private weekly magazine about business activities

- Bureau of Labor Monthly Report: a monthly report published by the United States Bureau of Labor
- History of American Labor: an historical account of the growth of American Labor by Philip Taft.

Document 22

Chart Showing Percentage of Union Membership in Western Europe and the United States

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, p. 174.

International Table of Percentage of Union Membership

Union Membership as Percentage of
Nonagricultural Employed Labor Force

	Union Membership (thousands)	Total number employed (thousands)	Percentage of organization
Austria	1,540	2,247	68.5%
Sweden	2,165	3,302	65.6
Belgium	1,700	3,407	49.9
Italy	6,320	14,242	44.4
Australia	1,475	3,448	42.8
England	8,757	22,621	38.7
Netherlands	1,430	3,978	35.9
Germany	7,996	23,733	33.7
France	3,071	10,243	29.0
United States	17,299	60,770	28.5

Australian data are for 1963; data relating to other countries are for 1965. Statistical comparisons of union membership among countries should be used with considerable caution, since the meaning of membership varies greatly. In the United States membership is measured by dues payment, but in Europe not only are dues levels much lower, but membership is not reported according to regular dues payments. In addition, it should be emphasized that the political and economic power of the union movement does not bear any simple relation to the proportion of the labor force that is organized; such power depends on several other factors such as the financial strength of the unions, the nature of the party system, et cetera.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What does the table tell us about the percentage of union members in the United States as compared with other countries?
2. What is your hypothesis to explain why the United States has such a small percentage of union members as compared with many European countries?
3. How do American trade unions differ from European trade unions?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Contact the various governmental missions located in New York and request material about trade unions in their respective countries. Report back to the class about your findings.
2. When were large influential trade unions formed in Europe?
3. In which European countries was the trade union movement important?
4. Are most European trade unions active in politics?
5. Examine the statements and policies of European trade unions. Compare them with the statements and policies of American trade unions. Are their concerns the same? Which unions seem to be more involved in political issues? Which unions with more "bread-and-butter" issues--economic concerns?
6. How powerful are Communist trade unions in France and Italy?

Document 22 (cont'd.)

7. How influential are European labor parties? What role do unions play in them?
8. What is the function of the International Labor Organization?

Document 23

Table Showing Percentage of Union Membership by Industry and Table Showing Percentage of Union Membership by Occupation

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, p. 111

Table of Percentage Organized by Industry

Industry and Occupation. Union members are distributed most unevenly among different industries, as the following table reveals:

Industry	Percentage organized
Transportation, communications, public utilities	74.7%
Construction	70.9
Manufacturing	50.0
Mining	47.2
Government	14.1
Services	10.5
Trade	9.3
Finance, real estate	2.0
Agriculture	.8

Table of Percentage Organized by Occupation

Occupations	Percentage organized
Operatives (semiskilled)	63%
Craftsmen and foremen	50
Laborers (excluding agriculture)	38
Clerical	26
Service	20
Sales	5-10
Managers	5-10
Professional and technical	5-10

Document 23

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. According to the tables which industries and occupations are unionized?
2. Form hypotheses to explain the following phenomena:
    a. Why the transportation and communications industries are highly unionized.
    b. "With a few notable exceptions, white-collar workers have traditionally been cool to unions, especially professional and technical employees." Which white-collar groups have become unionized?
    c. "On the other hand, blue-collar employees in the skilled and semi-skilled categories seem to be the most promising target for unionization."
3. What do these statistics tell you about the strengths and weaknesses of the trade union movement?
4. In twenty years, which occupational group do you feel will probably be more extensively organized? Explain your answer.
5. Assume that you are members of the executive council of the AFL-CIO discussing new organization drives. In which occupations do you feel labor would be most successful in the next five years?

Document 24

Geographical Distribution of Organized Labor

From: Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1971, p. 45.

Union membership is not distributed throughout the United States in proportion to population or employment. In general terms, the extent of union organization--measured as a fraction of nonagricultural employment--is greatest in the east-north-central and eastern industrial states and on the West Coast. The extent of organization is least in the South, the Southwest and the Middle West plain states. There are, of course, important variations within these groupings. For example, there appears to be some tendency for employees in metropolitan areas to be slghtly more highly organized than employees in smaller communities.

The five states with the largest employment--New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Ohio--contain 48 percent of the union members while they employ 38 percent of the nonagricultural work force. These five states have 8.7 million union members.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What correlation is there between the union membership of a region and its degree of industrialization?
2. In which areas would a union organizer have the greatest possibility of success? Why?
3. Which areas within a state tend to have the highest concentration of union members?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Set up five panels to investigate the distribution of union members in the five heavily populated industrial

states of New York, California, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio. Each panel should research the answer to the following questions:

a. Which section of the state has the largest number of union members? Form a hypothesis to explain why.

b. Which cities have the largest number of union members?

c. Does the geography of the state hinder or help the growth of unionism?

d. Is there any geographical pattern to union membership?

2. Find out which 5 states have the greatest percentage of union members and which 5 states have the smallest percentage of union members. Compare the industries in each of these ten states.

Document 25

Profile of the Union Member

From: Directory of National and International Labor
Unions in the U.S., Bureau of Labor Statistics
U.S. Department of Labor, 1969, p. 61.

The labor movement experienced a substantial gain of 366,000 in white-collar membership from 1966 to 1968, exceeding the previous record addition of 300,000 during 1962-64. According to reports from 167 unions and estimates for 22, total white-collar membership in 1968 stood at 3.2 million. This number indicates a 1 percentage point increase in the ratio of white-collar workers to total union membership.

Year	Number of white-collar members (thousands)	Percent of all members
1956	2,463	13.6
1958	2,184	12.2
1960	2,192	12.2
1962	2,285	13.0
1964	2,585	14.4
1966	2,810	14.7
1968	3,176	15.7

Much the same pattern carries over to the area of education. In 1965, 44 percent of all union heads of households had an education that extended through all or part of high school (but not beyond). Only 32 percent of nonunion household heads fell within these categories. At the upper end of the scale, however, the figures were sharply reversed. Only 1.4 percent of all union family heads had received a college diploma and .4 percent had received an advanced degree. Among family heads who were not members of unions, over eight times as many (11.4 percent) had graduated from college, while almost twenty times as many (7.8 percent) had obtained an advanced degree.

Women union members numbered 3.9 million, or one out of every five organized workers in 1968.

Document 25 (cont'd.)

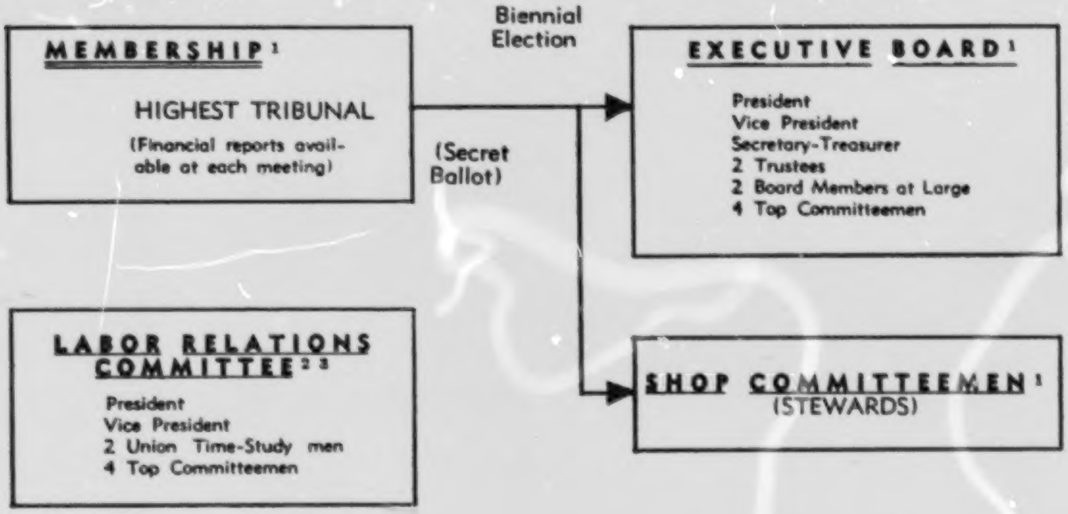
Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. On the basis of the above information, which type of person joins a union?
2. Is the average union member male or female?
3. Why are there so few women, relatively, who are union members?

Document 26

Chart of the Structure of Local 374, United Cereal, Bakery, and Food Workers AFL-CIO-CLC

From: Inside Battle Creek, Battle Creek Board of Education, Battle Creek, 1969, p. 12.


MEMBERSHIP[1]
HIGHEST TRIBUNAL
(Financial reports available at each meeting)
Biennial Election
(Secret Ballot)
EXECUTIVE BOARD[1]
President
Vice President
Secretary-Treasurer
2 Trustees
2 Board Members at Large
4 Top Committeemen
LABOR RELATIONS COMMITTEE[2] [3]
President
Vice President
2 Union Time-Study men
4 Top Committeemen
SHOP COMMITTEEMEN[1]
(STEWARDS)

LOCAL 374 UNITED CEREAL, BAKERY, AND FOOD WORKERS A.F.L.-C.I.O.-C.L.C.
(Post Division, General Foods Corporation)

1-Monthly Meetings
2-Meets biweekly with management to resolve grievances
3-Conducts negotiations with management

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What does the chart tell us about the structure of this particular local union?
2. How are the officers chosen?
3. What do you think the following people do:
    - a. President
    - b. Stewards
    - c. Secretary-Treasurer
    - d. Members of the Labor Relations Committee

Topics for Independent Study

1. Set up four or five panels. Each panel should select a particular local union and answer the following questions?

    a. How do you become a member of the Union?
    b. How are the officers chosen? For how long?
    c. What is the purpose of the Union?
    d. How does the membership help formulate the policy of the union?
    e. What is the function of the shop committeemen?
    f. How does the structure shown on the chart compare with the structure of a local you have chosen?

    Report back to the whole class and discuss the similarities and differences among the various unions.

2. Gather materials about unions which can be placed on classroom bulletin boards. You can write to the following unions in New York City.

    United Federation of Teachers, Local #2
    AFT, AFL-CIO
    260 Park Avenue South
    New York, New York 10010

    International Ladies Garment Workers' Union,
    AFL-CIO
    1710 Broadway
    New York, New York

3. Arrange a visit to a local union so that the whole class can see a union in action. In preparation for the trip, formulate types of questions to ask, think about materials you would like if they are available.

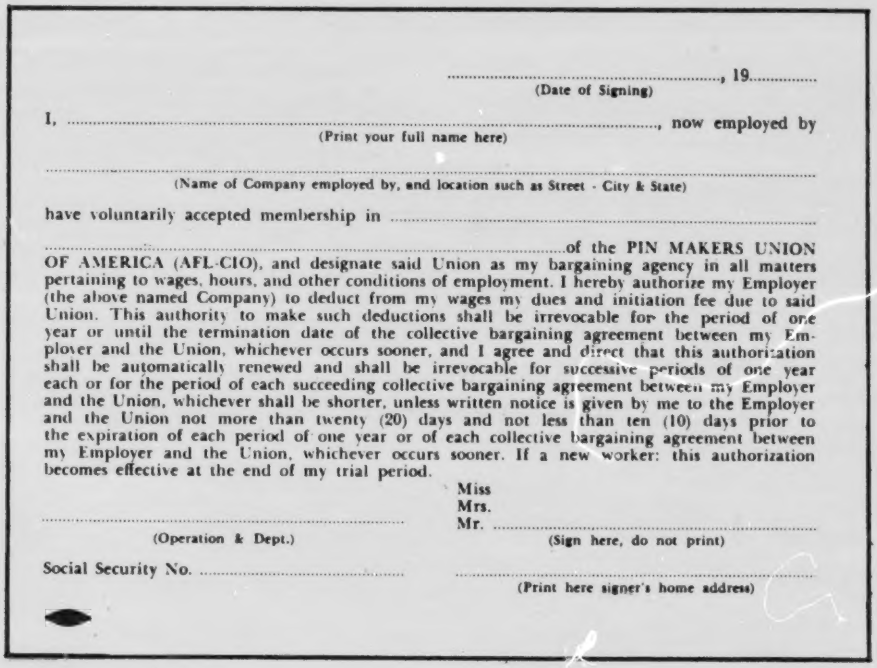
4. Invite a union member or union representative to the class to explain his duties and responsibilities within the union.

5. A panel might review the committee deliberations and decisions arrived at as published in the UFT newspaper.

Document 27

A Union Authorization Card

From: Labor Relations Primer, Robert Doherty, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1970, p. 12.



...., 19...............
(Date of Signing)

I, ..., now employed by
(Print your full name here)

....
(Name of Company employed by, and location such as Street - City & State)

have voluntarily accepted membership in ....

....of the PIN MAKERS UNION OF AMERICA (AFL-CIO), and designate said Union as my bargaining agency in all matters pertaining to wages, hours, and other conditions of employment. I hereby authorize my Employer (the above named Company) to deduct from my wages my dues and initiation fee due to said Union. This authority to make such deductions shall be irrevocable for the period of one year or until the termination date of the collective bargaining agreement between my Employer and the Union, whichever occurs sooner, and I agree and direct that this authorization shall be automatically renewed and shall be irrevocable for successive periods of one year each or for the period of each succeeding collective bargaining agreement between my Employer and the Union, whichever shall be shorter, unless written notice is given by me to the Employer and the Union not more than twenty (20) days and not less than ten (10) days prior to the expiration of each period of one year or of each collective bargaining agreement between my Employer and the Union, whichever occurs sooner. If a new worker: this authorization becomes effective at the end of my trial period.

Miss
Mrs.
Mr. ....
(Sign here, do not print)

....
(Operation & Dept.)

Social Security No. ....

....
(Print here signer's home address)

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What is an authorization card?
2. What do the following words which appear in the card mean:

designate	authorize
irrevocable	voluntarily
termination	expiration
automatically	collective bargaining

3. How does this card strengthen the position of the union?
4. How many employees must sign the card before the union can become the official bargaining agent?
5. What does the phrase "official bargaining agent" mean?
6. What does the card commit the employee to?

Document 28

Why a Worker Joins a Union

This autobiographical sketch by an employer might help explain why workers would be willing to sign authorization cards.

From: The Whole Man Goes to Work, Henry Light Nunn, Harper & Row, New York, 1953, p. 32.

In the spring another slip was presented to me that gave as the reason for discharge "staying out one Saturday afternoon last January." My curiosity was aroused, and I asked the foreman about the circumstances. He said, "Well, last January this man asked me if he could have Saturday afternoon off. I told him 'no,' but he stayed out anyway. On the following Monday I could not spare him, but I said to myself, 'Some day, old man, I'll be able to get along without you and then you will have to go.' I have just been able to replace him--so I fired him." No doubt some discipline had been in order in January; but to wait for months and then take revenge violated all my ideas of fair play.

I happened to visit a factory one day when it was practically empty of employees. Noticing my surprise, the employer said, "Oh, I have plenty of work all right, but I thought it would be good psychology to let the boys walk the streets a few days. It will put the fear of God into their hearts." Such rule through fear was often practiced. Some employers would affirm that working men were never reasonable except when hungry. I rejected this attitude, although I did accept the idea that labor was simply a cost to the business and that management had a right to pay the lowest possible wage. For this wage, the worker was expected to give the limit of his ability and strength. I was not conscious of workers being underpaid. As a representative of management, I saw no wrong in hiring people at any price they were willing to accept. I was consumed with an overpowering ambition to improve my own economic situation. I had never studied ethics. To my mind, it was my job and my duty to employ people at the lowest wage possible and to get as much work from them as I could.

Document 29

Satisfactions Members Get from Their Unions

A recent study of union leadership entitled, The Practice of Local Union Leadership, by Robert W. Miller, Frederick A. Zeller and Glenn W. Miller, Ohio State University Press, 1965, p. 62, included the following table:

Types of Satisfactions	Percentage of Total Number of Respondents
A feeling of security	19
Higher wages and better working conditions	17
Having good friends and better working conditions	12
Feeling I am part of an important group	10
Feeling I can help other members through the union	10
Feeling I can have more say about wages and conditions in the plant	10
Feeling that I can learn from being a part of the union	10
A feeling of protection from the boss	7
I don't get any satisfaction from the union	2
I don't know what satisfaction I get from the union	2
Other	1
Total	100

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Discuss how this listing helps explain why people join unions.
2. Develop a questionnaire to determine why people join unions.
3. Discuss the results of the questionnaire in class and compare the results with the table from The Practice of Local Union Leadership.

Document 30

A Constitution of a Fictitious Union

From: Labor Relations Primer, Robert Doherty, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1970, pp. 3-10.

All labor unions have some form of constitution which establishes the jurisdiction and purposes of the organization and sets out the rules by which it shall be governed. Indeed, the Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act of 1959 (Landrum-Griffin) requires that every labor organization adopt a constitution and place it on file with the Secretary of Labor.

While the best of constitutions cannot guarantee the democratic operation of a union, or of a governmental body, or even of a high school social club for that matter, a well-conceived one can go a long way toward protecting the membership from arbitrary and capricious acts of its leaders. While it is true that the structure and functioning of any organization are strongly shaped by informal and "extra" constitutional matters (the personality of its leaders, for example), the constitution does provide us with several important ground rules. The constitution of the Pin Makers Union of America that follows, then, is a formal statement of this national union's objectives, its mode of self-government, and the means by which it deals with subsidiary bodies.

CONSTITUTION

Article I

Name

The name of this National Union shall be the Pin Makers Union of America, AFL-CIO.

Article II

The jurisdiction of this National Union embraces all workers engaged in the manufacture of pins or in the production of such other products or the performance of such other services as the National Executive Board shall determine.

Article III

Objects

The objects of this National Union shall be:

(a) To unite in this industrial union all workers eligible for membership.

(b) To establish through collective bargaining adequate wages and improvements in the conditions of work for all workers in the industry.

(c) To secure legislation protecting the economic and social welfare of all workers in this industry, and to assist in the growth of our democratic institutions.

(d) To engage in educational and community activities which further the aim of a democratic society.

Article IV

Eligibility and Membership

(a) All working men and women, regardless of race, creed, color, or nationality, employed in the craft or employment over which this National Union claims jurisdiction are eligible for membership.

(b) No person having the power to hire or fire shall be eligible for membership.

Article V

Conventions

Section 1. The Supreme governing body of the National Union shall be its National Convention.

Section 2. Regular conventions of the National Union shall be held once every two years, in odd numbered years, at such time and place as may be determined by the National Executive Board.

Section 3. Local Unions shall be entitled to be represented at the convention by a number of delegates elected in a secret ballot election by the membership, determined as follows:

(a) Local Union having less than 100 members in good standing shall be entitled to one (1) delegate.

(b) Local Unions having 100 or more members in good standing shall be entitled to one (1) delegate for the first 100 members and one (1) additional delegate for each additional 200 members or majority fraction thereof.

Section 4. Each regular convention of the National Union shall elect the General President, General Secretary-Treasurer, and all members of the National Executive Board by a representative majority of the seated delegates and shall serve for a term of two years unless removed by death, resignation, or for cause. Members of the National Executive Board shall be chosen from the National Union's ten (10) geographical districts.

Section 5. All expenses of delegates to the convention of the National Union shall be borne by the Local Union which they represent.

Article VI

National Officers and National Executive Board

Section 1. The general officers of the National Union shall consist of a General President and a General Secretary-Treasurer.

Section 2. There shall be a National Executive Board composed of the General President, General Secretary-Treasurer, and ten (10) Vice Presidents.

Section 3. No person shall be eligible for nomination or election as General President, Secretary-Treasurer, or member of the National Executive Board unless he shall have been a member of the National Union in good standing for the period of not less than two years.

Section 4. In the event of a vacancy in any office between conventions it shall be filled by majority vote of members of the National Executive Board.

General President

Section 5. (a) The General President shall be the principal executive officer of the National Union. He shall preside at conventions and at meetings of the National Executive Board.

(b) Subject to approval of the National Executive Board, the General President may employ, fix salaries, and discharge such members of the National Union staff as may be required.

(c) The General President shall receive an annual salary of $25,000.00.

General Secretary-Treasurer

Section 6. (a) The General Secretary-Treasurer shall act as Secretary of the convention and of all meetings of the National Executive Board and shall keep a record of their proceedings.

(b) The General Secretary-Treasurer shall receive all applications for charters and shall issue the same when signed by the General President, subject to the approval of the National Executive Board.

(c) The General Secretary-Treasurer shall receive an annual salary of $15,000.00

National Executive Board

Section 7. (a) The National Executive Board shall meet twice a year and at such other times as provided in this Constitution. It shall enforce the Constitution and carry out the instructions of the National Convention, and between National Conventions shall have the power to direct affairs of the National Union.

(b) The National Executive Board shall have the power to remove any of the officers enumerated in this Constitution who, after due trial, are found guilty of dishonesty, malfeasance, or maladministration, and such findings are approved in a referendum by a majority of the members of the National Union.

(c) The National Executive Board shall have the power to fill vacancies for any National Office for the unexpired term.

(d) The National Executive Board may, for a period not to exceed eighteen (18) months, take possession of and administer the affairs, funds, and property of any local Union and assume and perform the duties of its officers for the purpose of correcting corruption or financial malpractices.

Article VII

Finances

Section 1. The initiation fee for membership in the National Union shall be such sum (which shall not be in excess of five dollars ($5.00) without the specific consent of the National Executive Board) as may be fixed by each Local Union. Each Local Union shall pay to the National Union an initiation fee of one dollar ($1.00) for each new member.

Section 2. Local Unions shall fix the dues of their members. Such dues shall not be less than three dollars ($3.00) nor more than five dollars ($5.00), payable monthly.

Section 3. Each Local Union shall pay to the National Union a per capita tax of two dollars ($2.00) per month.

Article VIII

Collective Bargaining and Contracts

Section 1. The National Union and the Local Union to which the member belongs shall act exclusively as his agent to represent him in the presentation, maintenance, adjustment, and settlement of all grievances and other matters relating to terms and conditions of employment or arising out of the employer-employee relationship.

Section 2. Negotiations for collective agreements shall be subject to supervision by the National Union until such time as the Local Union has been established, after which time no agreement will be effective unless approved by the National Union. But the National Union shall not sign any collective agreement until it has been approved by a majority of the members of the Local Union at a well-advertised meeting.

Article IX

Strikes

Section 1. The Executive Board of each Local Union shall in each Local Union have the exclusive authority to call a strike of any or all of its members, subject only to the following limitations:

(a) That the General President of the National Union has approved the calling of the strike.

(b) That the Local Union involved has voted approval of the strike by a secret ballot.

Section 2. A strike can be terminated only by the Executive Board of the Local Union and with the approval of a majority vote of the members of the Local Union.

Article X

Amendments

This Constitution may be amended at any convention of the National Union by the affirmative vote of two-thirds of the delegates voting on the question.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What is the purpose of a union constitution?
2. What are the major provisions of this constitution?
3. How does one become a member of this union?
4. How are the officers of the union elected?
5. Explain how the constitution provides or doesn't provide for a democratic structure?
6. Explain if a democratic constitution means that the union is run democratically.

Topics for Independent Study

Bring in copies of constitutions from local unions.

Compare them according to:

1. their jurisdiction
2. qualifications for membership
3. powers of the membership
4. method of election of officers
5. powers and duties of the officers.

Document 31

Sample Notice of an Election to Select a Collective Bargaining Agent

From: Labor Relations Primer, Robert Doherty, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1970, pp. 13,15.

When at least 30% of the workers at a plant have signed authorization cards, the union organizer requests the employer to recognize and deal with the union as the agent of all employees.

Occasionally an employer will agree to recognition without an NLRB election if he is satisfied that the union represents a majority of the employees. In this case, however, the employer refused recognition and insisted that he would deal with the union only after it had been duly certified by the NLRB as the collective bargaining agent of his employees.

The union then files a petition with the NLRB calling for an election. At the same time, as required by law, it submits authorization cards, indicating that more than 30 percent of the employees supported the petition.

After a field examiner from the regional office of the National Labor Relations Board determines that there was no dispute between the two parties as to the appropriate bargaining unit, i.e., which employees should be covered by the labor-management contract and which were to be excluded, and the time and place of the election, the Board orders an election. Election notices are posted in conspicuous places throughout the plant.

NLRB 707
[illegible]

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA NATIONAL LABOR RELATIONS BOARD

NOTICE OF ELECTION

RIGHTS OF EMPLOYEES

Under Section 7 of the National Labor Relations Act, employees have the right to self-organization; to form, join, or assist labor organizations; to bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing; and to engage in concerted activities, for the purpose of collective bargaining or other mutual aid or protection, and shall also have the right to refrain from any or all such activities.

PURPOSE OF ELECTION

An election by secret ballot will be conducted, under the supervision of the Regional Director of the National Labor Relations Board, among the eligible voters described herein, to determine the representative, if any, desired by them for the purpose of collective bargaining with their employer.

SECRET BALLOT

The election will be by SECRET ballot. Voters will be allowed to vote without interference, restraint, or coercion. Electioneering will not be permitted at or near the polling place. Violations of these rules should be reported immediately to the Regional Director or his agent in charge of the election. Your attention is called to Section 12 of the National Labor Relations Act:

> ANY PERSON WHO SHALL WILLFULLY RESIST, PREVENT, IMPEDE OR INTERFERE WITH ANY MEMBER OF THE BOARD OR ANY OF ITS AGENTS OR AGENCIES IN THE PERFORMANCE OF DUTIES PURSUANT TO THIS ACT SHALL BE PUNISHED BY A FINE OF NOT MORE THAN $5,000 OR BY IMPRISONMENT FOR NOT MORE THAN ONE YEAR, OR BOTH.

An agent of the Board will hand a ballot to each eligible voter at the voting place. The voter will then mark his ballot in secret in a voting booth and fold it. The voter will then personally deposit the folded ballot in a ballot box under the supervision of an agent of the Board. A majority of the valid ballots cast will determine the results of the election.

Incorporated herein, for your information only, is a copy of the official ballot.

AUTHORIZED OBSERVERS

Each of the interested parties may designate an equal number of observers, this number to be determined by the Regional Director or his agent in charge of the election. These observers will (*a*) act as checkers at the voting place and at the counting of ballots, (*b*) assist in the identification of voters, (*c*) challenge voters and ballots, and (*d*) otherwise assist the Regional Director or his agent.

ELIGIBILITY RULES

Employees described under VOTING UNIT in this Notice of Election who did not work during the designated payroll period because they were ill or on vacation or temporarily laid off and employees in the military service of the United States who appear in person at the polls shall be eligible to vote. Also eligible are those employees engaged in an economic strike which commenced less than twelve (12) months before the election date and who retained their status as such during the eligibility period, and their replacements. Employees who have quit or been discharged for cause since the designated payroll period and employees engaged in a strike who have been discharged for cause since the commencement thereof, and who have not been rehired or reinstated prior to the date of the election, and employees engaged in an economic strike which commenced more than 12 months prior to the date of the election and who have been permanently replaced, shall not be eligible to vote.

CHALLENGE OF VOTERS

The challenge of a voter MUST be made before the voter has deposited his ballot in the ballot box.

INFORMATION CONCERNING ELECTION

The Act provides that only one valid representation election may be held in a 12-month period. Any employee who desires to obtain any further information concerning the terms and conditions under which this election is to be held or who desires to raise any question concerning the holding of an election, the voting unit, or eligibility rules may do so by communicating with the Regional Director or his agent in charge of the election.

EMPLOYEES OF: Sweet Home Pin Company, Sweet Home, New York

VOTING UNIT

Included: All production and maintenance employees

Excluded: Office-clerical, technical, professional, guards and supervisors as defined by the Act.

TIME AND PLACE OF ELECTION

DATE: FRIDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1964, 10:00 AM - 11:30 AM

PLACE: LUNCHROOM, WAREHOUSE AREA
EMPLOYER'S PREMISES
21 [illegible] STREET
SWEET HOME, NEW YORK

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
National Labor Relations Board
OFFICIAL SECRET BALLOT
FOR CERTAIN EMPLOYEES OF
Sweet Home Pin Company, Sweet Home, New York

Do you wish to be represented for purposes of collective bargaining by

SAMPLE

[illegible] Makers Union of America, AFL-CIO?

MARK AN "X" IN THE SQUARE OF YOUR CHOICE

YES ☐ NO ☐

DO NOT SIGN THIS BALLOT. Fold and drop in ballot box.
If you spoil this ballot return it to the Board Agent for a new one

THIS IS THE ONLY OFFICIAL NOTICE OF THIS ELECTION AND MUST NOT BE DEFACED BY ANYONE

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What is the purpose of the election?
2. Why is the election important to a newly formed union?
3. How is the election conducted?
4. Is the election a democratic way of determining who shall be the bargaining agent? Explain.
5. What do the results of the election mean?
6. Is this the best, most democratic way of choosing a union to represent the worker in a factory or office?

Topics for Independent Study

1. What is the purpose of the National Labor Relations Board?

Document 32

A Fictitious Collective Bargaining Agreement

From: *Labor Relations Primer*, Robert Doherty, Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, 1970, pp. 30-38.

Once the Pin Makers Union has been certified by the National Labor Relations Board as the collective bargaining agent of all production and maintenance workers of the Sweet Home Pin Company, the company is now obligated by law to bargain with the union in good faith. The objective of collective bargaining is, of course, a collective bargaining agreement or contract setting down wages, hours, and other conditions of work which both parties agree to adhere to for a stipulated period. The agreement that follows, negotiated by representatives of the company and the union, and approved by majority vote by members of the local union, is to be in effect through June 30, 1967.

AGREEMENT

between
Sweet Home Pin Company
and
Pin Makers Union of America, AFL-CIO

This Agreement made and entered into this 1st day of July, 1965, between Sweet Home Pin Company, a New York corporation of Sweet Home, New York, hereinafter designated as the "Company," and the Pin Makers Union of America, affiliated with the American Federation of Labor--Congress of Industrial Organizations, hereinafter designated as the "Union."

Article I

Recognition

The Company recognizes the Union as the exclusive representative of the employer's production and maintenance employees for the purpose of determining wages, hours, and all other conditions of employment in its Sweet Home Plant.

Article II

Management Rights

The management of the Plant and the direction of the working force, except as otherwise qualified herein, are the exclusive functions of the Company.

Article III

Union Members Requirements and Checkoff

Section 1. All present employees who are members of the Union shall, as a condition of employment, maintain their membership in the Union during the life of this Agreement through regular payments of dues to the Union. The Company may hire new employees from whatever source it desires, but all new employees and all present employees who are not members of the Union shall, as a condition of continued employment, join the Union within thirty (30) days after the date of employment or the effective date of this Agreement, whichever is later, and shall thereafter maintain membership in the Union during the life of this Agreement through regular payments of initiation fees and dues to the Union.

Section 2. New employees with less than thirty (30) days service may be discharged at the sole discretion of the Company without appeal by the Union.

Section 3. The Company will honor from each employee a voluntary, revocable wage assignment authorizing the Company, during the life of this Agreement, to deduct monthly from the wages then owing to the employees:

a. Regular current monthly dues (not to exceed $4.00).
b. Initiation fee (not to exceed $5.00).

The amounts deducted shall be remitted promptly by the Company to the Financial Secretary of the Local Union.

Article IV

Work Week and Premium Pay

Section 1. A regularly scheduled week for hourly paid employees shall consist of five consecutive 8-hour days. Monday through Friday.

Section 2. Time and one-half shall be paid for work performed:

a. In excess of eight hours in any twenty-four hour period.

b. On Saturday.

c. On the following paid holidays in addition to holiday pay: New Year's Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day.

It is the function of the Company to determine when overtime shall be worked, and the employees agree to honor any fair request to work overtime. Whenever practical, the Company will honor any reasonable request by an employee to be relieved from overtime work, and the Union will cooperate in arranging for his replacement by a qualified employee.

Section 3. Double time shall be paid for work performed on Sunday.

Article V

Paid Holidays

Section 1. The following days shall be paid holidays: New Year's Day, Decoration Day, Fourth of July, Labor Day, Thanksgiving Day, Christmas Day.

Section 2. When any of these holidays falls on a Saturday or Sunday, it shall be obvserved on the following Monday.

Article VI

Wages

During the life of this Agreement, the following equalized and evaluated schedule of wage rates shall remain in full force and effect.

Layout man	$2.95
Maintenance man	2.90
Machine operator I	2.80
Machine operator II	2.70
Machine helper	2.57
Cleanup man	1.95

Article VII

Vacations

Employees shall be granted vacations with pay at their regular payroll rate according to the following schedule:

Length of Service	Vacation
1 year	1 week
2 years	2 weeks
10 years	3 weeks
20 years	4 weeks

Article VIII

Seniority

Section 1. In the event of increase or decrease of personnel due to changes in methods of operation or business conditions, length of service shall prevail for purposes of layoff and recall as between employees equally fit and competent to perform the available work.

Section 2. In the event of any vacancy or promotion (except in positions where technical training and special education is required), length of service shall prevail for purposes of promotion and filling vacancies as between employees equally fit and competent to perform the available work.

Article IX

Grievances and Arbitration

Section 1. All differences, disputes, and grievances that may arise between the Union and the Company under the terms of this Agreement shall be handled in the following steps:

a. By the aggrieved employee with or without the Union Section Steward on the one hand and the Section Foreman on the other hand. If no satisfactory settlement is reached within forty-eight (48) hours, the matter shall be referred to:

b. The Union Shop Committee on the one hand and the Department Head or Superintendent on the other hand. If no satisfactory settlement is reached within forty-eight (48) hours, the matter shall be referred to:

c. The Union Shop Committee and Representatives of the National Union on the one hand and the Company's Representatives on the other hand. If no satisfactory settlement is reached between them within five (5) days, the matter shall be submitted to arbitration as hereinafter provided.

Section 2. All differences, disputes, and grievances that may arise between the Union and the Company with regard to the interpretation or application of the provisions of the Agreement which have not been satisfactorily settled after following the procedure hereinabove set forth shall, at the request of either party, be submitted to arbitration by a Board of Arbitration. The Board of Arbitration shall consist of one member selected by the Union, one member selected by the Company, and a third impartial member selected by the two. If no agreement shall be reached on the third arbitrator within five (5) days, a third arbitrator shall be appointed by the American Arbitration Association. The decision of the Board shall be by majority vote and in each case the decision shall be final and binding upon each of the parties.

Article X

Discharges

The Company retains the right to discharge or suspend employees for just cause, but no discharge or suspension shall be final until the Company shall upon request of the Union, show cause for such discharge or suspension. Any grievance which may result from this action will be taken up through the full grievance procedure, provided herein.

Article XI

Group Insurance and Pensions

The Company and the Union hereby agree upon the continuance of the present program of insurance benefits and pension payments, initiated unilaterally by the Company on June 1, 1959, as set forth in Schedules "A" and "B" attached hereto, which program shall remain in effect during the term of this Agreement.

Article XII

Subcontracting

The Company shall not, for the purpose of discrimination against the members of the Union, let out for contract or subcontract any work.

Article XIII

Duration of Agreement

This Agreement shall become effective as of July 1, 1965, and shall continue in full force and effect through June 30, 1967, and for further periods of one year each thereafter, unless either party serves notice in writing on the other party of its desire to modify or terminate the Agreement not less than sixty (60) days prior to July 1, 1967, or any subsequent July 1.

Accepted for the Company subject to executive ratification:

Eric Pilisor
President, Sweet Home Pin Company

Accepted for the Union, subject to membership ratification:

Ralph Heinz
International Representative
PMUA, AFL-CIO

Joseph Katz
Raymond Ducharme
Carey Brush
(Negotiating Committee)

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What is a collective bargaining agreement?
2. What are the major provisions of this agreement?
3. How does this agreement give workers certain rights and benefits?
4. Who signs this agreement? Why?
5. Why is the collective bargaining agreement the single most important union function?
6. If there were no collective bargaining agreement, would you need or want a union? Explain your answer.
7. Have a union member--relative, friend--compare it with his or her own agreement and report similarities and differences.
8. What do the two words, collective and bargaining mean?
9. What steps must be taken before collective bargaining can begin?

Topics for Independent Study

1. How does the average union member enter the process of collective bargaining?
2. How is the government involved in this process?

3. How does the process of collective bargaining make the worker a participant in the industry in which he works?
4. How does collective bargaining bring about a limited form of industrial democracy?

Document 33

Basic Labor Legislation:
The National Labor Relations Act

From: Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, 1965.

The National Labor Relations Act (Wagner Act) is the principal labor relations law of the United States. Along with two subsequent amendments, the Taft-Hartley Act and the Landrum-Griffin Act, this statute defines practically all of the rights of unions, management, and the public in respect to collective bargaining.

Wagner Act of 1935 (National Labor Relations Act) was enacted during the Great Depression and the period of the New Deal. This act has been described as the Magna Carta of labor and permitted the tremendous expansion of labor union organization over the past thirty-five years. It created a National Labor Relations Board (NLRB) to promote equality of bargaining power between employers and employees and to reduce the causes of labor disputes. The law recognized the right of workers to organize and join labor organizations and to choose representatives for collective bargaining and other purposes. The chief features of the Wagner Act are as follows:

1. Employers must bargain collectively with representatives of workers.
2. Workers elect their bargaining agent by secret ballot. This union is then certified by the NLRB as the exclusive bargaining agent for these workers.
3. Employers are forbidden to engage in "unfair labor practices" specified in the act. These include dominating, interfering, and discouraging membership in labor organizations.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What did the National Labor Relations Act force employers to do?
2. Describe the two steps for selecting a bargaining agent.

Topics for Independent Study

1. Research the struggles the early unions engaged in to win recognition.
2. Compare and contrast those struggles with the problems unions face today.

Document 34

Basic Labor Legislation: The Taft-Hartley Act

From: Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, the Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, 1965.

Taft-Hartley Act of 1947 was enacted by Congress in an attempt to establish a new balance of power in the collective bargaining process. Adequate safeguards for management and the individual workers against the growing strength of unions was felt to be in the national interest. The major provisions include the following:

1. Closed shops are prohibited.
2. Sympathy strikes, jurisdictional strikes, and strikes of federal government employees are prohibited.
3. The President is empowered to request an 80-day injunction in strikes threatening the national health and safety.
4. Labor unions and corporations are prohibited from making political contributions in federal elections.
5. Unfair labor practices of unions are specified in the act. These practices include coercing employees to join unions, charging excessive initiative fees, and refusing to bargain collectively.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Who do you think was instrumental in getting the Taft-Hartley Act enacted?
2. Whom does it protect?
3. What are workers forbidden to do?
4. Describe how these limitations reduce the power of the unions.

Topics for Independent Study

1. Investigate the reaction of the AFL-CIO to the Taft-Hartley Act.
2. Trace the actions of the AFL-CIO since 1947 regarding the Taft-Hartley Act.

Document 35

Basic Labor Legislation: The Landrum-Griffin Act

From: Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, *the Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration*, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, 1965.

Landrum-Griffin Act of 1959 (Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act) was passed by Congress to regulate some union practices and insure the civil liberties of union members. The provisions of this act were specifically directed at situations uncovered in some unions by congressional investigating committees. The major provisions include the following:

1. A bill of rights guaranteeing to union members freedom of speech and assembly, open union meetings, and democratic elections.
2. Unions are required to file regular reports with the United States Secretary of Labor on all financial dealings.
3. The secret ballot is specified for union elections, and limits on terms in office are established.
4. Union officers are made responsible for union money, and communists and ex-convicts are banned from holding office.
5. Secondary boycotts are futher restricted.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Which provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act work to insure democracy within the unions?
2. Which provision further limits the power of unions?
3. Describe your position on the right of unions to engage in secondary boycotts. Give precise reasons why you feel you are right.

Document 36

UFT Meeting Calendar

From: New York Teacher, Official Publication of the
New York State United Teacher,

The United Federation of Teachers (UFT) is a union composed of teachers, guidance counselors, school secretaries, para-professionals, etc. Its membership has reached 70,000. However, within this membership there are many diverse interests. Below is a UFT Meeting Calendar for a two-week period.

UFT Calendar

- **A AND B TEACHERS COMMITTEE**, Monday, Jan. 26, 4 p.m., Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. West, NYC
- **ART COMMITTEE**, Wednesday, Jan. 28, 4 p.m., Area A, Second Floor
- **CHAPTER CHAIRMEN**, Wednesday, Feb. 4, 4 p.m., Marc Ballroom, 27 Union Sq. West, NYC
- **CLUW EXECUTIVE BOARD**, Thursday, Feb. 5, 6 p.m., Ad Com Room
- **CLUW LEGISLATIVE AND POLITICAL ACTION COMMITTEE**, Tuesday, Jan. 27, 6 p.m., Room A
- **DISTRICT REPRESENTATIVES**, Wednesday, Feb. 4, 1:30 p.m., Executive Board Room
- **HOMEBOUND DISCUSSION GROUP**, Monday, Feb. 2, 4 p.m., Room A
- **INITIAL DESIGN COMMITTEE CAMPUS HIGH SCHOOL**, Monday, Jan. 26, 10 a.m., Room 9, Second Floor
- **ITALIAN AMERICAN STUDIES COMMITTEE**, Tuesday, Jan. 27, 4:15 p.m., Ad Com Room
- **JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL/INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL COMMITTEE**, Wednesday, Feb. 4, 7:30 p.m., Ad Com Room
- **LIBRARY MEDIA MEMBERSHIP MEETING, ALL DIVISIONS**, Thursday, Jan. 29, 4 p.m., Area B
- **PENSION CLINIC**, Friday, Feb. 6, 4:30 p.m., Executive Board Room
- **PSYCHOLOGISTS AND SOCIAL WORKERS**, Tuesday, Jan. 27, 5 p.m., Room A
- **SCHOOL SECRETARIES EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE**, Monday, Feb. 2, 4 p.m., Room 16
- **SCHOOL SECRETARIES IN-SERVICE TRAINING COURSE**, Thursday, Jan. 29, 4 p.m., Executive Board Room
- **SOCIAL STUDIES TASK FORCE**, Tuesday, Feb. 3, 4:30 p.m., Ad Com Room
- **SPECIAL EDUCATION COMMITTEE**, Tuesday, Jan. 27, 4 p.m., Executive Board Room
- **TEACHERS OF THE DEAF/BUREAU FOR HEARING HANDICAPPED**, Monday, Jan. 26, 4 p.m., Room 16, Second Floor
- **UFT EXECUTIVE BOARD**, Monday, Feb. 2, 6 p.m., Second Floor
- **UFT FOREIGN LANGUAGE COMMITTEE**, Wednesday, Jan. 28, 4 p.m., Room A, Seventh Floor
- **VOCATIONAL HIGH SCHOOL COMMITTEE**, Thursday, Jan. 29, 4 p.m., Ad Com Room

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Why are there so many meetings?
2. Who attends these meetings?
3. What do these meetings accomplish?
4. How are these meetings used to increase rank and file participation?

Document 37

Collective Bargaining at Philco

From: How Collective Bargaining Works, ed., Harry A. Mills, Arno Press, New York, 1971, pp. 787-89.

On April 30, 1937 the eighty-five hundred workers in the plant were called out on strike. The unions demanded a 10-cent an hour increase for production workers and 5-cent an hour extra pay for night work. The company countered with a demand for modification of the thirty-six-hour average for the entire year. An agreement concluding the dispute May 28 was a compromise; hours were not altered, and only a 5-cent an hour raise was granted. All other conditions were unchanged except that seniority in layoffs was broadened from a departmental to a plant-wide basis.

Business at this time was still good. Had the unions asked for a 5 cent increase, they might have had it without any trouble. Immediately after the Philco settlement, RCA gave a similar raise. But in the remaining months of 1937, relationships in the plant were unsettled. The new seniority program brought more irritation because transfers based solely on seniority necessitated an unusual amount of retraining. During December, there was a short sitdown in the parts division over the purchase of parts from the outside.

It is not certain when the company first determined to check the power of the unions. Nor is it certain whether the intent was to mask unionism completely or simply to balance the scales. Nor, again, is it certain whether the orders lost because of the May strike and the worst slump in the company's history beginning that fall were the impelling cause or provided the strategic time.

Negotiations for a new agreement with the UER&MWA began February 21, 1958. Employment, which a year before was over eight thousand and in the early autumn was around five thousand, had fallen below two thousand. Management firmly asserted that under the union agreements of the preceding four and a half years, increasing restrictions had been imposed which its competitors had escaped, that the radio business was heading toward small sets, cheaper prices and low profits, that unless the unions agreed to certain concessions to improve Philco's competitive position and restore employment, the Philco Radio and Television Company* (selling agent for the Philadelphia Storage Battery Company) would place its orders elsewhere. The demands included: an hourly base rate of 50 cents for men and 40 cents for women; a fifty-hour week, with a forty-four-hour schedule during ten weeks of the rush season; abolition of the restriction on the purchase of materials made more cheaply outside; alteration of the seniority system, and reclassification of certain jobs.

A Four Months' Strike

Union representatives refused these demands, but requested that the expired contract be extended while negotiations continued. Management rejected this proposal and ordered about fifteen hundred employees to report for work at reduced wages. Charging that the company was not bargaining in good faith and was in reality attempting to destroy them, the unions threw picket lines in front of every factory gate. The plant was closed for four months and eight days.

If the primary intent of the corporation was destruction of unionism, the settlement of September 7 was a failure. The unions were not crushed. Indeed, the difficulty union leaders had in persuading the rank and file to accept the agreement, in spite of cessation of state unemployment compensation payments, indicates the strength of union morale.

If modification was the only intent, the company gained most of its objectives. Base rates were reduced from 61 to 52 cents for men and from 49 to 42 cents for women. Above these base rates, however, were to be three classifications under which, according to skill, a man might earn up to 65 cents an hour and a woman up to 52.5 cents. The 25 per cent incentive was removed, but the company agreed to a bonus of one cent an hour if production passed 20,000 sets a week, 2 cents if over 25,000, 3 cents after 30,000, 4 cents after 35,000, and 5 cents after 40,000. The thirty-six-hour week was replaced by the forty-hour week, the union agreed not to discipline members for "any cause relating to production," that is, for exceeding normal production. The company was given freedom to buy materials from outside, but it promised to make all parts that it could even if costs were slightly higher.

---

*The Philco Radio and Television Company was formed in 1932 primarily to avoid royalty payments to RCA. For every radio built, RCA receives roughly 5 percent of the manufacturer's selling price to the first middleman. If a corporation owns the first middleman, it can sell to him at cost of production and thus pay the royalty on a smaller figure. RCA attacked this procedure in the courts but was unsuccessful.

To allow for stabilization, the new contract was to run for two and a half years. The union was recognized as sole collective bargaining agent but the union-shop clause was eliminated. However, it was understood under a gentlemen's agreement that the company would require union members to pay their dues; and since no new workers were to be rehired until all the old ones were re-employed, the former union-shop status continued in practice. A seniority board of two union officers and two company representatives was to supervise rehiring and layoff in accordance with seniority and skill. The board was not to nullify the seniority principle, but to prevent poorly trained men from being transferred to new jobs merely on the basis of length of service. The central feature of the agreement was that it gave management a free hand in production problems, subject only to union complaint. What the company had charged were "restrictions" on production were eliminated. In the narrower field of employee-management relations, the position of the union was not affected.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Who was negotiating with whom?
2. Why could they not reach an agreement immediately?
3. Why did the union strike?
4. How was an agreement finally reached?
5. Could an agreement have been reached without a strike? Explain your answer.

Topics for Independent Study

1. Review the collective bargaining agreement between the United Federation of Teachers and the Board of Education of New York City. Report back to the class with answers to the following questions?

a. What are the major provisions of the collective bargaining contract?

b. How does a collective bargaining agreement with a city differ from one in private industry?

2. Simulate a collective bargaining session between management and labor in the steel industry.

The major proposal on the table at this session is an increase in the hourly wage.

Basic Hourly Wage Rate:

Present	$3.00
Last Company offer	3.20
Union Proposal	3.50

Take the following roles for this session:

a. Reporter who summarizes the negotiations;
b. Management Committee which represents Inland Steel;
c. Labor Committee which represents the Steel Workers Union.

Have both labor and management committees present their offers with supporting arguments. Then, if possible, have them resolve the wage issue. Similar sessions can be used to explore the following issues:

Issue: Layoffs due to automation
Company position: We want to lay off those whom we do not need.
Union position: Layoffs should be based upon seniority and the company must assume some financial responsibility towards those who are fired.

Issue: Pay for overtime and holidays
Company position: Time and one-half after 40 hours and double time for holidays.
Union position: Double time for all overtime and holidays.

As the sessions progress, either side can call for an arbitrator or a mediator to help resolve the problem. The rest of the class can act as the public, discussing how each issue would affect them.

Still a further complication might be the introduction of the government or a governmental agency such as the Board of Education as one of the parties in a collective bargaining session.

Document 38

New Goals for Collective Bargaining

From: *Directory of National and International Labor Unions in the U.S.*, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, 1969.

Many people who have no direct involvement in labor-management relations see the goal of the labor movement as simply that of raising wages. Unquestionably, this is the major objective; but it is far from being the only objective. Fringe benefits, employee compensation other than regular wages, in some industries is approaching fifty per cent of the hourly rate paid workers. This would include such items as extra pay for overtime, paid holidays and vacations, and health coverage.

Many of the new bargaining goals are beginning to appear in news media coverage of labor-management disputes. Since there is no single employment contract, some of the provisions may not be realized in one industry while they are partially or wholly in effect in another. A few are completely untried and may not be adopted within the forseeable future.

1. *Thirty and Out* plans which provide workers with the option of retiring with pension after thirty years, regardless of age.

2. *Voluntary Overtime* plans which provide workers with the right to refuse overtime even in industries where technology requires a team approach to production.

3. *Guaranteed Annual Wage* plans to be initiated or expanded.

4. *Income Continuation* plans to provide jobless benefits payable as soon as a worker is laid off. Supplementary Unemployment Benefits (SUB) is covered in the next section.

5. *Inverse Seniority* provision to permit employees with high seniority to volunteer for layoffs first in a production cutback. Of course, this would only happen where contracts provide for SUB benefits.

6. Shortened Workweek

Five seven-hour days
Four eight-hour days
Four nine-hour days

7. Anti-pollution clauses negotiated into employment contracts.

8. Stock Option plans wherein the employee has the privilege of purchasing shares of stock in the company at less than its quoted market value.

9. Shutdowns in plants over holidays with employees paid at regular wages.

10. Increased retiree benefits and cost of living protection of pensions.

11. Cash bonuses paid to workers at the end of each year.

12. Tuition refund plans paid to workers for additional education and/or training.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What new goals is labor seeking to establish?
2. Which of these new goals do you think will be most difficult to obtain? Which least? Why?
3. How would these goals improve the wages of the worker? Which will improve his working conditions?
4. If you were a worker, which goal would you want your union to push for?
5. If you were an employer, which might you agree to immediately? Which of the goals would be least costly to you?
6. If a union achieved all these goals, how would the life of a worker change?
7. Do you feel these goals are justified or unjustified? Explain.

Document 38 (cont'd.)

Topics for Independent Study

1. Assume you are on the labor negotiation committee of a large industrial union. Discuss the following questions.
   a. Which of the new bargaining goals would the majority of union members desire most?
   b. Which of the new bargaining goals is least desired?
   c. Which is the most costly?
2. After you have discussed the questions, consider what strategy should be employed in an effort to push the acceptance by management of the bargaining goals.
   a. Should you push for the costliest?
   b. Should you push for the least expensive?
   c. Do you offer management alternate proposals?

Document 39

The Surge of Public Employee Unionism

From: The American Federationist, Vol. 78, No. 6, June 1971, pp. 1-5.

Not since the surge of unionism in the 1930s has the labor movement experienced anything comparable to the current trade union breakthrough among public employees.

In less than a decade, union membership has at least tripled among employees of federal, state and local governments.

Today, thousands of collective bargaining agreements cover millions of workers. Ten years ago, the proud claim was that several hundred written agreements covered tens of thousands of public employees.

Most dramatically on the picket line, but in other ways as well, public employees have demonstrated their growing militancy.

A mere chronology of this phenomenal growth of union organization in the public sector would make an impressive chapter in any labor history. But it is too soon for the book to go to press; we are only midway through the chapter.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What is your hypothesis as to why there has been a "surge of public unionism"?
2. Why does the author say "we are only midway through the chapter"?
3. What areas of public life are especially feeling the force of the organization of public unionism?

Topics for Independent Study

1. What parts of the country have witnessed the greatest growth of public employee unionism? Why?

Document 39 (cont'd.)

2. Which unions of public employees have the greatest number?
3. Why have teachers, who are public employees, unionized?
4. Which group of public employees have not yet unionized?
5. How has the unionization of public employees changed the labor movement?

Section III

Documents 40-42

Document 40

Political Views of American Labor in the 19th Century: Speeches and Statements of Samuel Gompers

From: Annual Report to A.F. of L. Convention, Birmingham, Alabama, December, 1891

"The petition to Congress in favor of submitting an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to the several States for ratification, granting the right of suffrage to women, was printed and circulated. It affords me pleasure to say that the petition was signed by more than two hundred and seventy thousand organized workmen, and placed in the hands of the committee having that subject specially in charge.

"It is not vain to hope that the time is not far distant when women who are amenable to the laws of our country and states, shall have the right of a voice in framing them equal to their brothers."

From: Samuel Gompers, "Press Statement August 1915." Organized Labor in America, Robert Taft, Harper & Row, New York, 1964, p.5.

"Working women feel most keenly the necessity for the right of franchise. Women cannot have equal power with men in the industrial struggle while they are classified with idiots and irresponsible in political affairs. The ballot and political influence give power and opportunity. If opportunity and power are restricted, those individuals are extremely hampered in all activities. The ballot will bring power because it would bring full citizenship."

Free Speech and Public Assembly

From: Annual Report to A.F. of L. Convention, Birmingham, Alabama, December, 1891

"Within the past few years there has been a direct purpose and what appears to be a tacit understanding among the authorities of our several states and municipalities to violate one of the fundamental principles and rights guaranteed to the people. The right of free assemblage and free speech has been won at the sacrifice of thousands of lives and of fortunes untold. Yet, the right of free speech and free assemblage is as much in question today as it was centuries ago.

"We may have little, if any, sympathy with the expressions of those who are opposed to our system of government, or we may be their outspoken antagonists, but we should at all times maintain the constitutional rights of the people, of free speech and free assemblage. It requires but a stretch of authority to interfere and break up the meetings of our unions as was recently the case with the Painters' Union of Chicago, and still others reported to us."

Conservation of Resources

From: American Federationist, July, 1908

"For the present, the reclamation of public lands in arid regions, reforestization, development of waterways, the preservation of mineral beds, and the extension of natural reservations form the groundwork of one of the most important of all the constructive features of the national life. It is a matter of profound interest and gratification to the American people that the convention of governors of States, the forestry, irrigation, and waterway engineering experts and others who have given the public weal their study was called together by the Chief Executive of the nation.

"These eminent citizens are gathered in obedience to a call, the inspiration of which strike the key-note of the nation's future policy in the field of civic betterment. It is the extension of the new school of political economy. It is in the nature of the great stewardship that underlines the brotherhood of man. No more noble incentive to that end can be imagined than is to be found in the impulse that prompts wise and far-seeing statesmanship to build and preserve for the future. Happily, too, this convention will act as a check on the marauding instinct so flagrantly exercised in the exploitation of the nation's natural resources by men whose actions have hitherto been sanctioned by law. In respect of waste and extravagance in the economic sense, these marauders have placed the American Republic in a situation unparalleled in economic conservation among the nations. In one item alone, that of fuel, it is figured out by one of the experts attendant upon this convention that 200,000,000 tons of coal are wasted every year in the mining processes of the nation, which is equal to $200,000,000, every ton of coal being worth a dollar at the mines. Add to this the colossal waste in the exploitation of timberlands, water power, and the like, and we have some faint conception of the load our economic energies are carrying . . .

Suggestions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What was Gompers' "attitude" towards civil rights, woman's suffrage and conservation during the 19th century?
2. Why did labor support women's suffrage?
3. Why did labor support freedom of the press?
4. Why was labor concerned about conservation? What broader view of conservation of resources is introduced?

Topics for Independent Study

1. Why did the A.F. of L. oppose unlimited immigration?
2. What political program did the Knights of Labor support?
3. What reforms which labor supported in the 19th century were enacted into law during the 20th century?
4. What reforms which labor supported in the 19th century were not enacted into law? Why?
5. How does the attitude of American labor towards a labor political party differ from that of the British labor?
6. Why did the A.F. of L. concentrate on "bread and butter" issues rather than on political ones? Is this still true today?
7. Read the autobiographies of either Terence Powderly or Samuel Gompers and report about the political ideas and activities of both men.
8. In Europe the labor movement was directly involved in

the political process. For example, in England the labor movement was the main support of the British Labour Party which was formed towards the end of the 19th century. However, in the United States this never took place. Why was an American labor political party never formed during the 19th century?

9. While it is true that in the United States there was never a National Labor Party, segments of labor actively participated in many different political movements. For each political party, find out which labor groups supported it and their reasons for its support:

    a. Greenback Labor Party
    b. Populist Party
    c. Progressive Party
    d. Socialist Party

10. During the latter part of the 19th century labor played an important role in helping to pass important social legislation at the state level. This legislation dealt primarily with labor arbitration, child labor, women's labor, factory and mine safety, eight-hour day and responsibility for industrial accidents. Research how labor aided the passage of any of these pieces of legislation in New York state.

11. Construct placards with political programs which labor might have supported during the 19th century.

12. During the 20th century labor supported many progressive pieces of social legislation in the following areas:

    education
    welfare
    housing
    employment
    wages and working conditions

Document 40 (cont'd.)

a. What specific legislation did labor support in the area chosen?

b. How did labor field its support?

c. What effect did labor support have upon the passage of legislation?

d. How did the legislation benefit not only union members but every worker?

Document 41 The CIO Political Action Committee

ON THE LABOR FRONT: *The guarantee of labor's right to organize and bargain collectively; Minimum Wage legislation; the outlawing of child labor.*

ON THE SOCIAL SECURITY FRONT: *Old-age insurance; unemployment insurance; aid to the blind, the crippled, the needy.*

ON THE FARM FRONT: *The raising of farm income and the saving of farms from foreclosure; the rescue of small and marginal farmers; crop insurance; the ever-normal granary; rural electrification.*

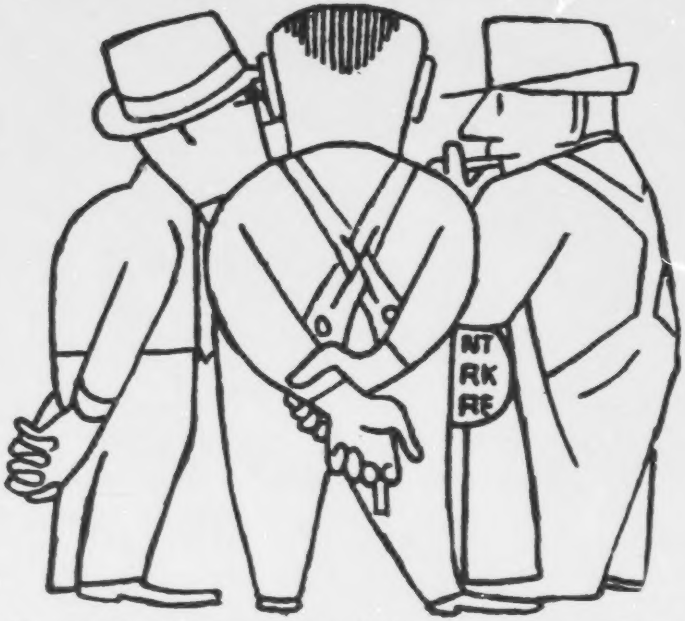
ON THE HOUSING FRONT: *The saving of a million urban homes from foreclosure through the HOLC; slum clearance and low cost housing; the stimulation of private home building through the FHA.*

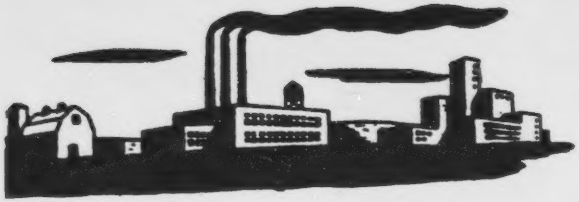
ON THE CONSERVATION FRONT: *Soil conservation; the TVA; unparalleled progress in flood control; erosion control; the conservation of all our natural resources.*

ON THE FINANCIAL FRONT: *The insuring of bank deposits; an improved banking act; the protection of investors through SEC; the curbing of utility empires.*

ENJOYMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS

1. The hateful practice of discrimination because of race, religion or national origin against which we are fighting abroad must be stamped out at home. Anti-Semitic and anti-Negro practices undermine the very foundations of our democracy. Full economic, political and civil equality must be guaranteed to every American, regardless of his race, creed or national origin. We call for the establishment of a permanent Fair Employment Practices Committee with adequate appropriations and enforcement powers. We urge legislation to prohibit activities or propaganda directed against any individuals because of their racial, religious or national origin.



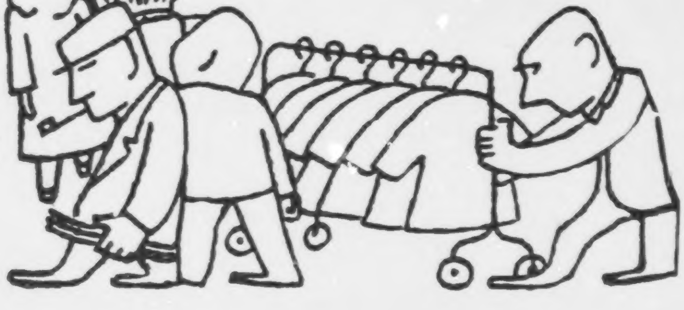


FULL EMPLOYMENT

Under the impact of wartime demands, we have fully utilized the vastly expanded capacity of our industry, marketed the products of our farms and achieved unprecedented employment.

We can and must continue full production and full employment for men and women alike in the post-war period. Supplying the needs of the American people for goods and services, supplemented by the requirements of a devastated and war-torn world would tax the capacity of our industry and agriculture. These needs must be translated into an effective demand for food, clothing, housing, education, medical care, recreation, and the other things that go to make up a secure and plentiful life. This can be accomplished by a progressive peacetime rise in the purchasing power of the American people. A substantial increase in the income of the American workers must be an immediate objective of post-war planning and policy. The guaranteed annual wage is one means to this end. We urge that the Federal government endorse the principle of the guaranteed annual wage and encourage its incorporation in collective bargaining agreements. Only through such measures for the rapid increase in the purchasing power of the people can we provide peacetime customers for the products of factory and farm which are now being purchased by our Government.

We recognize that the task of providing full employment is primarily that of private industry. We believe that—given adequate planning, with the participation and assistance of government—private industry can do the job. The full employment program must, however, be guaranteed by government with a prepared program of jobs at useful work, with standard wages and working conditions, if and to the extent that private industry falls short of the goal.



Document 41 (cont'd.)

EDUCATION

Our nation can and must guarantee equality of opportunity for education to every American. We propose that the Federal Government establish minimum education standards, based on the principle that every boy and girl is entitled to free education through the high school level, with advanced study for those of demonstrated ability. We urge the establishment of a minimum wage scale for teachers. We urge federal grants in aid to each state in such amount as it reasonably requires to assist in financing this program and eliminate the existing inequalities between (1) rural and urban education and (2) between education for Negro and education for white children, without interference with private educational institutions or local control. We also advocate a program of Federal aid to make hot meals available to every school child without cost.

We further urge adequate appropriations to support a Federal-State nursery school program which will assure every working mother proper day-time care of her pre-school children.

HOUSING

Americans are badly housed. We shall have to build a minimum of 1,500,000 dwellings a year, over at least a ten-year period, to rehouse our urban and farm population to minimum standards of decency and comfort. It is the obligation of government to assure decent housing to the people at a cost within their means. To the extent that private construction proves unable to fill the peoples' needs, the Government—city, state and federal—must take the necessary steps to assure every American a decent home at a cost within his means.

The housing program has to be integrated with over-all community planning.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What was the PAC's program? List the goals of the program in rank order, placing the most important first and working down to the least important. Defend your rankings.
2. What kind of political action would be necessary to carry out the PAC's program?
3. Should a Political Action Committee have been formed? Explain your answer.

Topics for Independent Study

1. Why was the Political Action Committee of the CIO formed?
2. How did the PAC organize to carry out its program?
3. Which leaders of the CIO favored the formation of the PAC?
4. Which labor leaders were against the PAC?
5. Why did big business oppose the PAC?
6. What effect did the PAC have upon the national election of 1944?
7. Which segments of the labor movement gave the PAC its greatest support?
8. Was the PAC a really effective political weapon?
9. List some of the goals of the PAC program and then discuss which of the goals have been realized through legislation?

10. List some of the goals of the PAC program which have not been realized. Explain why labor has been unsuccessful in achieving these goals.

11. Imagine yourself a labor leader. Draw up a list of goals which you think should be achieved.

Document 42

The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education

From: AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education

What is COPE?

COPE is the name taken from the initial letters of the Committee on Political Education of the AFL-CIO. The Committee was established by the First Constitutional Convention of the AFL-CIO in December 1955.

COPE is nonpartisan and has the responsibility spelled out in the AFL-CIO Constitution of "encouraging workers to register and vote, to exercise their full rights and responsibilities of citizenship, and to perform their rightful part in the political life of the city, state, and national communities."

Why Is the AFL-CIO in Politics?

Labor unions have historically participated in the government of their communities, their states and their nation as all good citizens do. Politics is the process by which governments are elected.

Many gains made by organized labor at the bargaining table have been attacked in state legislatures and in Congress by reactionary groups who could not achieve their objectives through negotiation.

It is also true that as our society has become more complex, many of the needs of union members can only be met by legislation in the general welfare.

Finally, many of the aims of the AFL-CIO, designed to advance the general welfare of all citizens of the country, can only be achieved in the legislative halls.

In each of these cases, good government comes through the election of good officials--men and women who seek public office to help make their communities, their states and their nation better places for the people who live in them. It is the aim of the AFL-CIO to help the candidacies of such people.

What is the COPE program?

The AFL-CIO is committed to programs to maintain a prosperous nation in a peaceful world. It is concerned with improving the security and freedom not only of union members, but of all people. It supports programs to provide better education to protect the rights of all individuals, to provide full employment at a decent wage, to achieve social and economic justice, to establish sound and fair labor relations, to develop better housing, to expand social insurance programs for the ill, for the elderly, for the unemployed and those injured on the job, to provide fair tax laws, to ease the burden of poverty, to protect consumers, to protect and develop our resources, to help solve the pressing problems of urban life, to support foreign trade and aid.

How Are Candidates Endorsed?

Candidates for President and Vice-President of the United States are recommended to AFL-CIO members by the General Board of the AFL-CIO which represents all the affiliated unions. The endorsement is based on the records of the candidates and the platforms of their parties. These are the only endorsements made at the national level.

Candidates for local, state, and other federal offices are recommended to the membership in the appropriate area by state and local COPE bodies, representing affiliated unions at the local and state level. The basis for the endorsement is the record and the program of the candidates compared to the policies of the AFL-CIO.

How Does COPE Work?

COPE believes that an educated and informed electorate is essential to the democratic process.

COPE reports facts about issues and candidates. It publishes voting records of elected officials to help AFL-CIO members inform themselves in order to vote intelligently.

COPE carries on extensive drives to help people register and vote so that the result will truly reflect the decisions of the majority of the people.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. Why did the AFL-CIO establish COPE?
2. What is COPE's function?
3. How does COPE carry out its function?

4. Do you think that the AFL-CIO should be actively engaged politically? Explain your answer.

Topics for Independent Study

1. How are local candidates chosen for COPE's support?
2. How does COPE function in New York City?
3. How much money does COPE allocate on local elections?
4. How successful has COPE been in getting local candidates elected?
5. Design a questionnaire to see how effective labor's political activity is among its own members. Try to get a representative sampling of union members in the questionnaire survey. Questions might include:
    a. What union do you belong to?
    b. Have you received any political literature from your union? If so, what kind?
    c. Have the political leaflets influenced your voting preferences?
    d. Have members of your union discussed these political issues with you prior to elections?
6. In 1963, the National Association of Manufacturers sponsored the creation of the Business-Industry Political Action Committee as one vehicle to promote its political objectives.
   Discuss: Should both organized labor and big business have the right to influence elections?

7. What is COPE's position on the following topics:
    - Labor Laws
    - Medicare and Social Security
    - Education
    - Civil Rights
    - One Man, One Vote
    - Protecting the Consumer
    - Taxes
    - Safeguarding Our National Resources
    - Problems of Our Cities
8. COPE was organized to achieve labor's political goals. One of labor's more important goals was the achievement of civil rights for all Americans. Conduct a detailed study of labor's participation in the Civil Rights Movement indicating the scope and direction of COPE and labor's political activity nationally.
9. Beside COPE, labor has created other organizations to influence politics. Research and report on some of the other institutions, such as the legislative department within the AFL-CIO, which lobbies for labor's political goals.

Section IV

Documents 43-46

Document 43

A Union Sharing Plan: Kaiser Steel Union Collective Bargaining Agreement

From: Studies in Personnel Policy, No. 187, Howard Stieglitz, Conference Board, New York, 1963, pp. 3-10.

For the 7,000 workers at Kaiser Steel in Fontana, California, the password on January 11, 1963, was, "What have we got to lose?" And since the answer for most of them was "nothing," almost 4,000 of the 5,300 who voted said O.K. to the Long Range Sharing Plan submitted by the Kaiser Steel Corporation and the United Steelworkers of America. It is a fact that most, if not all, had nothing to lose; and perhaps much to gain. They agreed to accept a plan:

1. That guarantees greater protection than ever before against the loss of jobs or income because of technological change.
2. That assures them a share--specifically 32.5%--of any cost reductions brought about through increased efficiency.
3. That guarantees wage and benefit increases equal to or better than what might be granted by the rest of the industry.
4. That assures incentive workers earnings at least as high and possibly higher than they have been receiving in the recent past if they choose to get off incentives.

For the company, adoption of the Plan means an escape from the annual or biennial haggling over wages and from possible strikes, as the agreement runs for a minimum of four years. Also, it gives the company a chance to rid itself of an incentive pay scheme that threatened to become even more ulcer-generating than it already was. And most important, it gives the company a chance to introduce changes in technology and work practices without the usual employee resistance. Section 2b of the basic contract that relates to work rules and past practices remains unchanged. But the company is reasonably confident that it will not longer be the barrier it was.

And the price? In dollars, no more and possibly less than it would have to pay if it were to go through the regular bargaining slugfest.

What the company will pay besides dollars is what many outside observers are waiting to find out. For some other companies this nondollar cost is already too high. For the idea of sharing in gains from cost reduction "connotes a look at the books." And the agreement does call for union verification of cost data upon which the sharing is based. The eventual erosion of management prerogatives that some people see as a consequence of a "look at the books" is what makes them say the price is too high; to them the whole plan is an "anathema." To the chief executive of Kaiser Steel, however, this fear is "academic."

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What are the most significant points in the agreement between Kaiser and the Steel Union?
2. Why would the Steel Workers' Union accept this contract?
3. Why would Kaiser Steel Company sign such an agreement?
4. What objections do other companies have to this agreement?
5. How does this contract make the worker a partner in the technological change?
6. Could such an agreement be used in other industries? Explain.
7. Does this agreement increase or decrease technological unemployment? Explain your answer.

Document 44

Push-Button Miner

From: AFL-CIO, Department of Research, Labor Looks at Automation, 1969, p. 3.

The Push-Button Miner is a mechanical giant standing three stories high and weighing more than 1-1/2 million pounds. It cuts and loads as much as 266 tons of coal an hour in one continuous operation, without drilling or blasting and with very little human intervention. The entire operation requires a crew of only three men and is performed by remote control from a panel outside of the mine shaft.

Within the postwar period, machines similar to the Push-Button Miner have almost tripled the amount of coal which a man can mine in one day. They have made the American coal industry the most efficient in the world--so efficient that it can deliver coal to Europe more cheaply than Europeans can produce it, pay American miners far more than European miners, and still make a healthy profit.

These mechanical marvels, unfortunately, have also left a trail of misery in their wake. Thousands of idled miners, trapped in one-industry coal towns, have been compelled to work in "dog-hole" mines at a fraction of their former wages. Others have fallen back temporarily upon unemployment benefits, exhausted their savings and ended up on relief. Long after the end of the 1960-61 recession, as much as 75 percent of the population of some coal mining areas subsisted on food and clothing distributed by the government.

In 1968, coal mining employment was about 75 percent below what it had been in 1948 and the names of coal mining communities--Harrisburg, Herrin and West Frankfort in Illinois; Harlan, Hazard and Middlesboro in Kentucky; and Beckley and Bluefield, in West Virginia--still dominated the list of areas of persistent unemployment despite more than seven years of steady economic expansion in the nation as a whole.

Like the American coal industry, American agriculture is the most efficient in the world. Fertilizers, chemical weed killers, insecticides and new machines have almost tripled farm output per hour since 1947. Mechanical cotton pickers are now harvesting more than 90 percent of Mississippi's cotton crop and doing it more cheaply than men paid as little as $1.00 an hour or less.

Like the coal industry, also, the new agricultural technology is a mixed blessing. In 1968, farm employment was almost 50 percent less than in 1948. Millions of small farm owners, sharecroppers, tenant farmers and regular hired hands have drifted to the cities in search of jobs.

For Negroes the exodus from the farm has posed very special difficulties. Thousands of displaced Negro sharecroppers and farm laborers have been left penniless and hungry with little to look forward to except the prospect of moving to a big city slum. "With technological progress far more to blame than racial prejudice," Newsweek reported in 1966, "up to 20,000 Delta Negro farm laborers are expected to be idle this cotton season--a staggering total that amounts to half the shrunken pool of workers still working the blackbelt soil of Mississippi." And soon many of the remaining 1-1/2 million Negroes now living on southern and border state farms will be faced with the same problem.

One-industry coal towns and one-crop farming communities are not the only places in which rapid technological change has left a trail of hardship. Railroad employment, for example, dropped 55 percent between 1948 and 1968. The Bureau of Labor Statistics of the U.S. Department of Labor studied the effects of five mass layoffs "related in part to technological change...in substantially industrialized and highly diversified areas." The studies, made between April 1962 and April 1963, covered a petroleum refinery, an auto parts plant, a glass jar plant, a floor covering plant and two iron foundries.

This is what they found:

* Almost 25 percent of the 3,000 workers who had been displaced were unemployed at the time the surveys were made--some six to 21 months after the five mass layoffs occurred. In one case, 39 percent of the displaced workers were still jobless.

* In four out of the five cases studied, more than 40 percent of the displaced workers had been unemployed for a half-year or more.

* In addition to those counted as unemployed, a significant number became "labor force dropouts." They stopped looking for jobs not because they did not want to work but because of their inability to find work.

Document 44 (cont'd.)

- * More than half of those who were reemployed suffered a decline in earnings. The decline amounted to at least 20 percent for one out of every four reemployed workers.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

Assume that you are a member of the negotiating team of the United Mine Workers of America.

1. How would the "Push-Button Miner" affect your demands?
2. What problems does the "Push-Button Miner" create?
3. How would you attempt to solve the problems raised by the "Push-Button Miner"?
4. Assume you are members of a union negotiating committee which has to draw up a proposal to put before management about what should be done with the workers who are no longer necessary in the freight handling department because of increased mechanization. Your proposal should be realistic and costed out so that you can discuss the cost factor with management. Then consider:
    a. Do you strike if you receive nothing from management?
    b. Should such an issue go to arbitration or mediation?
    c. Is this an issue which should involve the Federal government?
5. Recently, a sociologist made the following comment:

    "As technological change roars through the advanced economics, outmoding whole industries and creating new ones almost overnight, millions of unskilled and semi-skilled workers find themselves compelled to relocate."

    Discuss who is responsible for these dislocations and who should help these workers who have to relocate. Labor? Management? Government?

Document 45

Organized Labor Moves in New Directions

From: The Labor Revolution, Gus Tyler, The Viking Press, New York, 1967, pp. 3-4.

American labor is in the midst of a deep and quiet revolution. Unions are organizing new kinds of workers in new industries. In the past, most union dues payers wore blue collars and worked for wages; in the future, legions of new members wearing white collars and working for salaries will pour in. From 1935 to 1965, the labor movement grew most rapidly in the great basic industries: automobile, rubber, electronics, aircraft, transport, maritime, chemical, atomic, steel; at present, unions are growing most rapidly in the service trades, especially among employees of government at the local and state level. Until recently professional people looked upon their "societies" as the retort to unions; today professionals are converting their guilds and associations into unions or are forming and joining unions outright. As a result of these trends, total labor-union membership is climbing rapidly toward a new plateau: the doubling of membership experienced in the 1930s and 1940s promises to be repeated.

As the size and composition of the labor movement change, the locale of action shifts. In the past, the scene was industrial and urban America. Now the industrial and political battleground moves to the suburbs. In the past, the geographic base of unionism was almost entirely in the North and West and Midwest. Now the focus shifts to the South and the Southwest.

As the old order changes, so does the old guard. A generation of top leaders exists with about one-third of the high command in the AFL-CIO Executive Council stepping out at one convention (1965); a younger generation steps in; and, in the wings, a generation still younger impatiently awaits its cue.

This new labor movement--changing in composition and in character--is coming into being in response to the personal and collective needs and attitudes of the new labor force that has been growing since mid-century. Yet, self-centered as these groups necessarily are, they find that they cannot go it alone. They seek allies out of necessity and compassion. Increasingly the labor movement seeks ententes with civil rights groups, with social planners wrestling with megalopolis, with economic programmers seeking full employment, with warriors against poverty, with internationalists crusading for a world of peace with freedom. Consequently, the massive impress of the labor movement in a great liberal coalition is changing the face of the nation.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What revolution is the author discussing?
2. How is the revolution affecting labor?
3. How is technology changing labor?
4. What steps should labor take to take advantage of the changes discussed?

Topics for Independent Study

"The new era of unionism is the third great labor epoch in the twentieth century. The rise was the period between 1900 and 1935 and was almost solely a movement of craft unions. The second period, 1935 to 1960 added the industrial unions to the legions of organized labor. The third period runs from the 1960's and embraces the 'new' unionist of the white collar and service trades."

1. How did technology bring about these three phases of unionism?
2. What steps have unions made to meet the new direction in unionism?

Document 46

Organized Labor Today

Penn Kemble, Executive Director of the Coalition for a Democratic Majority discusses important aspects of today's labor movement: Unions and the Intellectuals, Labor and Politics, and Unions and Blacks.

From: "Rediscovering American Labor," in Commentary, Penn Kemble, April, 1971.

It has been almost two decades since the labor movement went out of fashion among liberal and radical intellectuals. Today it is apparent that something of a change is taking place.

Political cynicism holds that respect is usually paid to the successful and the powerful. In all likelihood, labor was courted in the 1930's because the power of the labor movement in politics or on the picket line was so dramatically apparent, while the world of business and the upper classes seemed so unsteady. A good deal of today's revival of interest in labor probably has a similar basis. Unions, for long the targets of so much snobbish disdain, have shown remarkable durability and vigor.

One could sense a shift in the anti-labor winds back in 1968. First, the United Federation of Teachers won its bitter strike against the Lindsay administration. Not only had most intellectuals opposed the union: special honors were awarded to union-busters and strike breakers. (Soon after, through the reporting of Martin Mayer and the repudiation by the black community itself of so-called community leaders who had opposed the union, some liberals quietly recognized that the union was not only powerful, it had been right.)

The unions then demonstrated enormous political muscle in the 1968 Presidential elections. Despite widespread liberal indifference and the strong backlash campaign of George Wallace, the labor movement by itself almost carried Hubert Humphrey into the White House. From then until now the unions have had a string of successes: the organization of farm and hospital workers and white-collar employees, the collective-bargaining victories at General Electric and General Motors, the legislative defeats of [Nixon Supreme Court nominees] Haynesworth and Carswell, and the impressive showing in last year's elections [1970] , when labor's organization and labor's issues were unquestionably the deciding factors in the revival of the Democratic party. And all this despite a hostile administration and a faltering economy.

In the face of these successes, and the equally impressive record of disappointments that has been built up by the protest movements of the disaffected intelligentsia--the New Left and the New Politics--it is not surprising that some formerly hostile intellectuals are preparing themselves again to accept an alliance with organized labor. It is unlikely, however, that they will be able to do so without reappraising some of the theories and attitudes which have fed the indifference and hostility toward labor within the intellectual community in the past twenty years.

Unions and the Intellectuals

Much of this indifference and hostility toward the labor movement--and, for that matter, the working class, white ethnics, lower-middle class, and other groups of comparable social status and outlook--was, no matter how much radicalism it may have been spiced with, made of basically conservative dough. The anti-labor posture has often been justified with the argument that labor lost its claim to support in the intellectual world by turning conservative in the 1950's. A fairer assessment is that many intellectuals became more conservative, and abandoned labor. During the 1930's intellectuals were often obliged to look at the world from the standpoint of the working man. Many of them took ordinary jobs or worked in the labor movement itself. Government was Left-leaning in the New Deal days, and many writers and artists were employed on government public-works projects. But in the relative affluence of the postwar years many of these same intellectuals moved into secure and well-paying positions in the universities and in publishing. Some even gained admittance to the fringes of the business world, as writers and as consultants to the great foundations. Sources of government support shifted from the WPA to the Department of Defense, the poverty-education complex--and other less visible agencies.

In short, the intellectual community was raised to an unprecedented status and affluence, based on relationships with institutions which depended for their support on the large corporations, the upper classes, and the more conservative branches of a now more conservative government. This is not to argue that the intellectuals were simply bought off by high salaries and other perquisites--although in some cases these assuredly had their impact. For at the same time that many incomes in the academic worlds were rising, the relative status of the academic world itself was rising--perhaps even at a faster rate.

In the fifteen years between 1950 and 1965, the number of students enrolled in higher education nearly doubled, while the amount of money taken in by universities increased almost six times over.

The effects of this transformation on the academic community itself were reinforced by a parallel change in outlook in the general society. American business regained its footing in the 1950's, and provided the nation with an unprecedented affluence. The government of the New Deal was replaced by the Dixiecrat-Republican coalition, which, while not dismantling the liberal measures taken by its predecessor, at least diminished the prospects of more far-reaching social and economic change. Even if the academic world had not been affected by its own new affluence and status, it would have been influenced by the trends in the wider society.

It is not surprising that the trade-union movement came to be a prime target for the contempt of many intellectuals who were caught up in this [anti-democratic] peculiar mood. Through legislation and collective bargaining it does more than any other institution to bring some democratization to American affluence. It is also the largest and strongest independent popular organization in this society. By electing leaders out of its own ranks, it has created a center of power and political expression which is free of both the business and intellectual elites. The forthright and down-to-earth manner of some of these leaders--George Meany, for example--is a special irritation to a certain breed of intellectual. And, one should add, to quite a few businessmen as well.

Labor and Politics

If the preceding explains why the intellectuals for their own reasons were being drawn away from labor, what has been the state of the labor movement itself during the past two decades? All things considered, it seems fair to say that labor is somewhat to the Left of where it was in the 1930's. At least, it has moved to the Left in most important matters, if not in such things as rhetoric and strike tactics.

While there may be fewer union leaders today who make flamboyant speeches against the bosses, the mainstream of the labor movement is more involved with social issues of broad public concern, with political action, with race relations, with experimental forms of collective bargaining, with organizing new sectors of the work force, and with labor education than it has ever been before. To illustrate this perhaps provocative point, it is worth examining some of the criticisms one often hears from those who charge that labor has gone stale or conservative.

Until quite recently it was widely believed that unions were dying. Their alleged lack of dynamism and the vast changes in industrial technology were said to be making it difficult for them to keep their old members or to recruit new ones. But union membership has actually held up remarkably well over the past two decades. As might be guessed, the membership of unions in absolute numbers has grown considerably since the 1930's--it now stands at about eighteen-and-a-half million. But, more impressively, unions now embrace roughly the same percentage of the total work force that is eligible for union membership as they did twenty years ago. Nat Goldfinger, the AFL-CIO's reputable director of research, estimates that about 35 per cent of the real eligibles are now union members--about the same proportion as in the early 50's.

The fact that the proportion of union members relative to the total work force has remained the same would, of course, be evidence of stagnation, not vigor, were it not for several other important factors. First, during the past twenty years there has been a momentous shift in the nature of the American work force. In 1950 there were a shade more blue-collar than white-collar workers. But today, in addition to an enormous growth in the total work force, the proportion of white-collar workers in the work force has jumped from a little more than one-third of the total to virtually one-half. This enormous shift in the nature of employment has been compounded by a variety of other factors which have affected union membership. Many plants have moved from highly unionized areas--the Northeast and Midwest--to the South and Southwest, where the nature of the work force and political climate make union organizing extremely difficult. Groups have moved into the work force--the blacks and the young--which have little experience with unionism, and are at times susceptible to anti-union threats and appeals. Some industries in which unionism was especially strong--railroading, textiles, the manufacture of electrical appliances--have declined drastically. In the face of all these counter-currents, it should not be surprising that union membership has not soared. In fact, it is no small accomplishment that the unions have been able to hold their membership totals at more or less constant levels. They have had to run simply to stand still.

Another trend of thought, heavily worked by hostile ex-radicals, is that the labor movement has lost its concern for issues affecting the wider society. In fact, however, the very struggles that so thrilled the "Liberal Audience" in the 30's were really waged for quite narrow purposes--union recognition, the right to strike, etc. On this point it is worth quoting two observers of acknowledged impartiality:

> Much of the radical ethos surrounding the unions in the depression was supplied by outsiders who joined the movement temporarily, either to help the underdog or to engineer a social revolution. The mainstream of the movement did not depart fundamentally from its traditional goals of winning new members and bargaining for better wages and working conditions. If anything, it was less concerned then than it is now over social and economic issues outside the range of its own economic interests. . . . In 1936, organized labor contributed the unprecedented sum of $750,000 for political purposes; in 1968, labor expended what is conservatively estimated to be $6 to $7 million to aid Democratic candidates. As for lobbying, union representatives took very little part in working for the passage of the labor and social legislation of the thirties. This record contrasts sharply with the present situation, wherein more than a hundred lobbyists represent labor in Washington and spend large portions of their time on such issues as medicare and civil-rights legislation.

Some of this new social commitment is remarkably wide-ranging. In 1968-69, for example, the AFL-CIO made financial contributions to such causes as the Smithsonian Institution's Folk Life Program, and the Clergy Economic Education Foundation. It has been estimated that labor raises one-third of all United Fund and Community Chest collections, that union members who are reached through union-sponsored programs make about one-third of all Red Cross blood donations. But, of course, the core of labor's activity outside the industrial-relations sphere is in the field of politics and legislation.

The importance of the labor movement in winning liberal legislation is badly underestimated. It is very unlikely according to Clarence Mitchell, the NAACP's Washington representative, that any recent federal civil-rights legislation would have passed without the support of labor's lobbyists. The same can fairly be said for almost all the important liberal legislation of the 1950's and 1960's. The defeat of Nixon's Southern nominees to the Supreme Court by the Senate--defeats which were largely due to the efforts of labor lobbyists--is further evidence of labor's legislative potency. Labor does not now simply wait for legislation to appear, and then announce its support or opposition. It takes the initiative in raising issues. The legislative struggle over National Health Insurance, which may well become the crucial issue for the 92nd Congress, will be largely a result of legislative organizing done by the AFL-CIO and the UAW. The unions maintain the largest more-or-less united, experienced staff of legislative representatives which can be rallied behind a liberal bill. And in recent years at least three-quarters of the issues that have occupied labor's legislative energies have had no special benefit for unions or union members; they are simply general social-welfare issues.

The effectiveness of labor's legislative work rests ultimately on the effectiveness of its electoral action. Perhaps it is the growing recognition of this political clout more than anything else that has brought about the new interest in the labor movement. The union mobilization for Humphrey in 1968 astounded a good many liberals who had convinced themselves that labor was a mere husk left over from the days of the New Deal. The 1970 Congressional elections drove the point home: almost every liberal who was reelected could give credit to his union support.

Labor's political-action program grew up during the 50's--another point which illustrates how mistaken the theory is that the unions deteriorated in those years. While the rest of the country was turning to the Right, even the more conservative unions were forced to turn to liberal politics in self-defense. Bok and Dunlop report that today labor can field some 500 full-time, paid workers for sustained electoral action, to say nothing of thousands of part-time volunteers. Estimates of the total of labor's financial contributions for political purposes during the 1968 election period are, as mentioned, in the area of seven million dollars. (Both these figures include both AFL-CIO and independent unions.)

Unions and Blacks

Perhaps the strongest charge being leveled against the labor movement today is that it stands as a barrier to Negro advancement. It was put most succinctly by John Doar, the former U.S. Assistant Attorney General who served as president of the New York City Board of Education during the teachers' strike of 1968:

> Union concepts of security and seniority were formulated in the period of struggle between company and union. Now the struggle is between Negroes and unions.

The shortcomings of this opinion as a general proposition are easily demonstrated. On legislative matters, the civil-rights and labor forces have almost always stood together in the recent past--not only on civil-rights issues, but on a wide range of social legislation. In politics, the coalition of the labor vote and the black vote has proved to be the most reliable basis of liberal power. But the labor-black alliance is not simply a coalition at the top. It extends to the local levels, and even to the workplace. The most extensive strikes in recent times, the General Electric and General Motors strikes, were strikes of black and white workers against the employer, not against one another. Union organizing drives have brought huge non-white minority memberships into the labor movement in recent years--it is estimated that today one out of every three new union members is black. There are now some two million black union members, making labor the most integrated of America's major social institutions. In Memphis, Charleston, Atlanta, Delano, and dozens of other places, unions of non-white minority workers have conducted long and bitter strikes against the bosses rather than against established white unions. Mr. Doar's opinion, however, was handed down with regard to the New York City teachers' strike--not the situation in what he might regard as a more provincial city like Memphis. Yet last year in New York, some eight thousand black and Puerto Rican paraprofessionals in the city's school system voted to join a largely white union: it was none other than the United Federation of Teachers.

The current focus of the controversy about labor and the Negro is the building-trades unions. The skilled trades in the construction industry are a natural target for critics of the labor movement. These unions are labor's elite, at least in terms of the worker's hourly wages, which can be six or seven dollars an hour, and even higher. The unions in this industry generally come from the old AFL, and consequently do not have some of the associations with liberalism that the industrial unions have maintained since the CIO days. Although these unions contribute as heavily to COPE as the industrial unions, their leaders have never been so deeply involved in national politics, where associations with liberals might have been established. (They are, however, very much involved in local politics, where decisions are made regarding work rules, contract awards, licensing, etc. Local politics being what it is, the building-trades unions have often of necessity developed close relationships with some of the old-line politicians who are often the chief enemies of the affluent liberal reformer.) The craft unions generally control the admission of workers into the labor market through the apprenticeship system and job referrals, and consequently can be held more directly responsible for employment inequities than most unions. Finally, there has been an undeniable tradition of exclusiveness in the craft unions ever since they were established. (George Meany once explained that his union, the plumbers, didn't just discriminate against blacks. It discriminated against everybody. The reason--he said--was that even in the early decades of this century there was far too little work for the card-holders to agree to share it with new members.)

Perhaps it should be conceded that the skilled trades have been the most culpable sector of the labor movement so far as job discrimination is concerned. Still, what is really significant about this is the speed and energy with which such discrimination is being eliminated. In 1960 the number of Negroes registered in apprenticeship programs for the skilled crafts stood at a mere 2½ per cent. But by 1968, the proportion had grown to 8 per cent. And by the first half of 1970, some 11 per cent of the apprentices in these trades were from non-white minority groups--a figure which roughly corresponds to the proportion of non-whites in the general population. The figure should, of course, be higher, given the ultimate standard--the black worker's desperate need of steady employment at decent wages. Most of the craft-union leaders acknowledge this, and are continuing to expand their recruitment programs among non-white minority groups, rather than leveling off at a racial quota.

It should be kept in mind that this progress was achieved under the unions' own leadership--it was not imposed by some government agency. The pioneer work in this field--done by the Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Institute--was begun in the early 1960's, and gained support immediately from the Civil Rights Department of the AFL-CIO. Soon, in good part through the efforts of the labor movement, it received substantial backing from the U.S. Department of Labor. This program--together with other "Outreach Programs" modeled after it--is largely responsible for the substantial increase in black employment in the construction industry.

The example of the construction industry is interesting for a second reason: it shows how an anti-labor campaign attacks simultaneously from both the Left and the Right. One of the early economy moves of the

Nixon administration was an order to cut back a full 75 per cent of federally-financed construction projects. At the same time that he was blighting employment in construction. Nixon was launching his campaign for the "Philadelphia Plan." This plan, which allows contractors to hire non-union labor, promises less to blacks than many union-supported hiring programs. Many non-white minority workers who do get jobs will only work irregularly, because they will not qualify for union cards. By nice coincidence, the Philadelphia Plan and the crescendo of anti-labor commentary which it provoked appeared not only at the time the administration was carrying out its budget cuts in construction, but also when its Southern strategists were carrying out their most strenuous offensive against some of the civil-rights gains made by the Johnson administration and the Warren Court.

Footnotes

1. Derek C. Bok and John T. Dunlop, Labor and the American Community, Simon & Schuster (Clarion), New York, 1970.

Questions for Inquiry and Discussion

1. What reason does the author give for labor's being courted in the 1930's?
2. List the events which demonstrate that labor is successful and powerful today.
3. The author states that in view of labor's successes, the intellectuals will want to form an alliance with labor. He feels that before this will be possible, the intellectuals will have to change. What changes does he mention?
4. What situation, according to the author, was responsible for bringing the intellectuals and the working class close in the 1930's? Describe the factors which he claims are responsible for driving the workers and the intellectuals apart since the 1930's.

5. What two activities of the labor movement does the author cite as proof that organized labor is doing more than any other institution to bring democratization to American affluence?
6. How has the work force changed in the last twenty years?
7. Why, according to the author, is it remarkable that union membership, the percentage of organized workers out of the total eligible workers, has remained constant?
8. What liberal legislation has labor been responsible for?
9. How does labor lead the struggle for social welfare legislation?
10. Which two programs did labor organize to insure Blacks entry to the construction trade?
11. Why, according to the author, was the Philadelphia plan anti-Black and anti-union?
12. What was your feeling about the labor movement before reading this article? Does this new information about labor's activities change your feeling in any way. Describe how and why.

Topics for Independent Study

1. Research the following programs:

National Health Insurance
The Joint Apprenticeship Program of the Workers Defense League and the A. Philip Randolph Institute
Educare

Document 46 (cont'd.)

Find out:

a. Do they help workers?

b. Do their goals reflect labor's traditional goals or new goals?

c. Do they help minority groups?

d. Do they improve society for everyone?

Glossary

Glossary

From: Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, *The Pros and Cons of Compulsory Arbitration*, Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Cleveland, 1965. (For the definitions of many of the following terms, we have drawn heavily upon two sources: 1) "Labor Terms," in the *Labor Law Report*, October 12, 1955, Commerce Clearing House, Inc., Chicago, Illinois; and 2) *Labor Dictionary* by P.H. Casselman, Philosophical Library, New York, 1949.)

anti-trust laws--Federal and state statutes which prohibit any restraint of trade

apprenticeship programs--in the skilled trades, craft unions take an active role in overseeing the training of apprentices. Apprentices are persons who learn an art, trade, or calling under the supervision of skilled workers. The apprentices receive pay for their work under journeyman instructors during the on-the-job phase of the program. This compensation, which is always figured as a percentage of the journeyman rate, is paid by the employer

arbitration--method of settling industrial disputes whereby a third party is chosen to render a binding decision on the merits and facts of the case

arbitration clause--provision inserted in a contract whereby future disputes arising out of the contract will be settled by arbitration

arbitrator--person who acts or is appointed to act as a judge or referee in a dispute

area-wide bargaining--collective bargaining which covers all the members of a union and all the employers of the union members in a specific geographical or industrial setting

award--ruling of an arbitrator

bargaining agent--union or association of workers recognized by government agencies or management as representatives of a group of workers for collective bargaining negotiations bargaining right--a) right of workers to negotiate through chosen representatives concerning the terms and conditions of employment; b) right of a union designated by the majority of workers to represent those workers in collective bargaining negotiations

bargaining unit--a group of workers or employers determined by Federal or State labor relations boards as appropriate for collective bargaining

bidding--a procedure provided for in contracts under which an employer must notify employees of new job openings or vacancies that are available in the plant or industry. It further specifies that the selection for these jobs will be based upon seniority, assuming that all applicants are qualified to perform the work. The person selected is usually given a period of time in which to meet a job

board of inquiry--under the Taft-Hartley Act, a board appointed by the President to report to him on the facts and positions of the parties in a national emergency dispute

boycott--general refusal to deal with employer: a) consumer boycott--refusal to purchase the goods of an employer; b) primary boycott--boycott by employees of their own employer; c) product boycott--refusal by employees to handle or work with goods owned or manufactured by someone other than their own employer in order to place indirect pressure on the owner or manufacturer; d) secondary boycott--refusal to deal with a neutral party, usually accompanied by a demand that the neutral party bring pressure upon an employer in a labor dispute to accede to his union's demands

bumping--the practice in industrial plants of exercising seniority rights as a means of protecting job security during periods of layoff. If management must layoff employees as a result of a loss of business, contracts usually specify that the worker last hired must be the first laid off. If a man has the least seniority in a department, he can bump those with lesser seniority in other departments in which he is qualified to work. It is also possible to use seniority in transferring from one work shift to another

certification--official designation of a union as the bargaining representative for employees in a particular bargaining unit

certified union--a union designated by Federal or state labor relations boards as the exclusive bargaining agent of a group of workers checkoff--a system whereby union dues and assessments are deducted from the employees' paychecks by the employer and remitted to the union: a) voluntary checkoff--system whereby each worker authorizes the checkoff· b) automatic or compulsory checkoff--deductions made without the individual authorizations of the employees

closed shop--place of employment where employer obligates himself to hire and employ only union members

collective bargaining--a method or process of determining and maintaining specific conditions of a contract--particularly wages, hours, and conditions of work--by direct negotiations between the representatives of one or more unions on one hand and an employer or association of employers on the other hand. The basic principle upon which all union actions rest. A union receives certification as exclusive bargaining agent for a group of employees as a result of a majority vote by secret ballot conducted by the National Labor Relations Board. The union representatives then negotiate a trade agreement with the owners of the business or their representatives. Like any contract, the parties to the agreement are legally bound to its provisions unless the provisions are contrary to state or federal law. If either side breaks the terms, the other side can seek a remedy in a court of law for any injuries resulting from the breach

company-wide bargaining--bargaining on a multi-plant basis between an employer operating more than one plant and a union representing workers in all the plants

compulsory arbitration--a legal requirement that a labor dispute be submitted to an arbitrator whose decision is binding

conciliation--the attempt by a third person to bring about the settlement of a labor dispute by hearing both parties and offering suggestions for a solution, although the suggestions are not binding

cooling-off period--the time which must elapse before a strike or a lockout may occur

employers' association--a voluntary non-profit organization of business competitors established to promote the common interest

fact-finding--an objective examination by a third party of a labor dispute, resulting in a report on the reasons behind the conflict and the status of the dispute

fringe benefits--this expression refers to any form of compensation received by the employees other than regular wages for time actually spent on the job. In some contracts, fringe benefits include such features as vacation and holiday pay, hospital and surgical insurance, life insurance, sick pay benefits, supplementary retirement payments, profit sharing bonuses, and stock purchase privileges. Union contracts in this area vary all the way from those containing practically all of the above benefits to those which contain few of these benefits

grievance--worker dissatisfaction involving situations covered under the contract or stemming from personal or psychological causes

grievance procedure--a method and policy established to settle grievances of an employee or group of employees

industry-wide bargaining--collective bargaining covering an entire industry

inflation--economic situation in which prices rise faster than productivity increases

injunction--court order imposing restraints upon actions to be performed

jurisdiction--the extent of a union's authority over certain workers or certain types of work

jurisdictional disputes--conflict between two or more unions as to which shall represent a certain group of employees in collective bargaining, or as to which union's members shall be entitled to do a particular type of work

labor court--permanent government agency established to deal with industrial disputes

lockout--the shutting down of a plant by an employer to compel workers to agree to the employer's conditions or to force the workers to give up their own demands

maintenance of membership--form of union security used in contract formation under which the employee is not required to join a union but agrees to remain a member of the union for the duration of the contract if he is already a union member or does join the union during the life of the contract mediation--a form of settling disputes in which an outside agency or person acts as a go-between for the two parties in attempting to reach a settlement

multi-employer bargaining--collective bargaining which includes the employees of two or more employers

national emergency dispute--labor-management negotiations which if deadlocked could result in a strike endangering national safety, health, or welfare

no-lockout clause--provision in a contract whereby the employer pledges not to shut his plant in order to force workers to agree to his conditions or to give up their own demands

non-stoppage strike--a type of strike in which work continues after a deadlock in bargaining negotiations, and in which both the employer and his employees pay penalties for each day of strike activity

no-strike clause--a union agreement not to authorize a strike during the duration of a contract

open shop--a shop in which union membership is not a condition for employment

overtime wages--the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938 established the 40-hour week as the standard in interstate commerce. This does not imply that workers cannot work beyond 40 hours per week, but that they must be paid overtime rates beyond 40 hours.

pattern bargaining--collective bargaining in which the union tries to apply the same terms to a number of employers in the same industry, although the employers bargain individually and not through an association

picket--one who patrols a place of business to publicize a labor dispute, a union's desire to represent the workers of the plant, or non-union working conditions within the plant

seizure--government operation of a struck or strike threatened plant

seniority rights--the principle of seniority is at the very heart of union philosophy. It refers to the right of a worker to receive special consideration based upon the years of service to his employer steward--an individual elected by his fellow workers in a given shop or plant to deal with grievances and other matters of union businesses. Stewards are also known in some industries as committeemen

strike--sustained refusal by workers to perform all or some of those acts for which they were hired

umpire--a single arbitrator

union security clause--a contract provision fixing the position of a union in a plant and its relationship to the workers it represents and their jobs

union shop--form of union security in which workers must become union members after they have been employed

voluntary arbitration--the agreement of the two parties in a labor dispute to accept as binding the decision of a third party over the disputed issues

yellow-dog contract--an agreement signed by a worker with management as a condition of employment by which he promises not to join a union or to quit his job if he does join